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Pershing-2 Engines Destroyed in Colorado

LD0612001788 Moscow TASS in English 0012 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev reports:

Destruction of "Pershing-2" missile engines has begun at U.S. Army facilities near Pueblo (Colorado). This is provided for by the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

A total of 18 engines from nine rocket stages are to be destroyed. If the weather is favourable—and the health authorities [as received] of the State of Colorado are very exacting—the procedure will take 14 days.

"One engine has already been destroyed," the TASS correspondent was told by Kendell Peas, spokesman for the verification agency under the INF Treaty. In accordance with the stipulated procedure, he said, the engine is fixed in a special concrete and steel structure. After being started, the engine works until it uses up all fuel, which requires around 60 seconds. The engine bodies will then be buried in an area specifically allocated for the purpose.

The verification agency spokesman said that under the provisions of the treaty the Americans were to inform the Soviet side about the upcoming destruction of engines 30 days in advance. Still, he was convinced that it was remarkable that the engine liquidation in Pueblo had begun on the eve of the first anniversary of the document. He said he was very glad that implementation of the treaty was proceeding so well. This was made possible thanks to the closest cooperation between the Soviet and American sides in this field. Mutual understanding, high professionalism and flexibility of American and Soviet specialists are very conducive to progress here, Peas said in conclusion.

"The Soviet-American INF Treaty," said Anatoliy Samakin, who leads the group of Soviet inspectors, "marks the start of real disarmament." He said that "now people can face the future with optimism."

'Serious Differences' Alleged Within NATO

LD0212220588 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

A two-day session of the NATO military planning committee that ended in Brussels on Friday brought to light serious differences between European NATO member countries and the United States on the question of sharing the burden of military spending.

In answer to the United States demand for a considerable increase of West Europe's contribution to the maintenance of NATO might, a number of defense ministers, participants in the session, pointed to the Pentagon's chief Frank Carlucci that the military expenditures of West European countries had increased by 34 per cent over the past 17 years. The report adopted by the session says that Western Europe meets the requirements of the armed forces of the bloc in personnel to 90 per cent, in combat planes to 80 per cent, in tanks to 70 per cent and in artillery to 80 per cent.

West European defense ministers ensured that the report mentions that the contribution of West European countries to the NATO military structure is not limited to financial expenditures. The reports says that no less important elements of the total burden is the granting of personnel and territory, the adoption of restrictions on personal freedom and the living standards, the readiness to put up with tension within member countries and in international relations. Taking into consideration such factors which are important above all for the United States' West European partners is without precedent for NATO's official documents.

The final communique emphasizes the need to "obtain greater value for the money devoted to defense". References are made to facts of "constrained defense resources".

On the other hand, the session's final communique also reflects the U.S. stance as regards the build up of military spending. It is noted that there are "significant variations among countries in the scale and nature of their contributions" to NATO military effort. The communique emphasizes the need "to provide adequate resources for defense". The report drawn up by experts names countries, NATO members, which should increase their military budgets—Belgium, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, West Germany, Canada, Portugal and Spain, that is half the members of the North Atlantic Alliance. The Americans succeeded in getting the consent of Western Europeans to participate in the expenditures connected with the redeployment of U.S. aircraft from Spain to Italy.

It is yet difficult to say if Washington will be able to compel its allies to cough up funds for the implementation of other U.S. military plans. But the growing opposition of West European NATO countries to this pressure by the USA is a new factor in relations among NATO member countries.

'Roundtable' on France, China, Palestine

LD0412184288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 4 Dec 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with All-Union Radio commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin; Igor Petrovich Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's political observer; and Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, editorial board member of weekly ZA RUBEZHOM]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello comrades. Taking part in today's roundtable meeting are Igor Petrovich Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's political observer, and Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM.

I'd like to kick off with an event, which at first glance seems to be of a purely domestic nature—I mean the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The decisions taken there are well-known. In practice, they represent the first step along the road to renewing our society's political system, for, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev correctly observed in his report at the session, our further development is being increasingly thwarted by the imperfection of our political institutions. This apparent domestic event was followed very closely abroad. Initially, foreign press commentaries assessed the session's decisions as an expression and confirmation of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. That's the underlying theme in most of the comment.

The interest displayed abroad in the work and decisions of the Supreme Soviet session is natural because they directly translate our domestic restructuring into their foreign policy dimension. Making his state of the nation address to the Bundestag this week, FRG Chancellor Kohl noted that East-West relations have recently acquired a dynamism which would have been barely imaginable only a few years ago, and stressed that to a large extent this is due to the profound transformations taking place in Soviet domestic affairs. It's no secret, and it's a long-established fact, that domestic and foreign policy are interconnected, with domestic affairs taking priority.

Our foreign policy aims precisely at securing favorable conditions for the restructuring process inside the country. Naturally, as we move toward this aim, foreign policy itself is being restructured—and what's more, sometimes more quickly than other spheres. It organically incorporates an invitation to everyone to display joint concern for our common future by removing the threat of a nuclear disaster, protecting ourselves from the danger of an ecological disaster, and cultivating political and economic cooperation for mutual advantage.

[Belyayev] And it was in the context of this invitation to dialogue and cooperation that French President Francois Mitterrand recently paid us a visit. Now that the outcome of that visit is known, it is obviously worth looking at in some detail, especially since we are, in effect, tangibly reminded of it on a daily basis—a Soviet-French space crew is at work in orbit, and their flight around the earth continues.

[Vedenyapin] It has to be noted, however, that no matter how significant space cooperation between our countries may be, it is only one strand—though, probably, a particularly vivid one—in the fairly colorful fabric of our mutual relations. The full variety of these relations was revealed during the talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand in Moscow. The talks mainly centered on global problems. The two men tried to work out common concepts and ideas to enable them to organize joint work on such problems.

The French president agreed, for instance, that at the present stage of the disarmament process the central task remains that of achieving an agreement between the USSR and the United States on reducing their strategic offensive weapons, while, of course, adhering to the ABM Treaty. Mitterrand specified that at a certain stage of the talks on strategic offensive weapons, once tangible progress has been made, France will take part in them. One of the main issues discussed was the concept of the common European home put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The French president described this project as a grand idea. And it was there at the Moscow meeting between the leaders of the two countries that that idea began to turn into reality.

Let's take a look at what Paris, for its part, is proposing. The French president named some areas in which European-wide cooperation could be carried out across borders, so to speak—enviromental protection, advanced technology, biology, medicine, the development of new television systems, and even joint television programs.

This kind of cooperation would help to bring CEMA and the Common Market closer together and, as we know, their integration processes are gaining strength at the moment. It would also help them to unite their efforts in tackling common problems. During Mitterrand's visit particular emphasis was placed on the need to make economic cooperation more efficient and to remove artificial trade restrictions.

As you know, a number of documents in the trade and economic sphere were signed; in particular, a document on founding a major Soviet-French mixed enterprise. Until now, incidentally, as far as mixed enterprises are concerned, the French are, it must be said, lagging noticeably behind the other countries of West Europe. And indeed overall, in the view of LE MONDE, economic relations between our countries are still mediocre. Actually, if you look back over the development of Soviet-French relations in recent years, it is easy to see that there have been both ups and downs. It has to be recognized that the absence of regular personal contact between the leaders has perceptibly lowered the overall level of links between us.

Anyway, the two countries have been drawn to one another in the past and this remains true today. Progress is now being made, and this was perhaps distinctively symbolized by the landing of the supersonic Concorde aircraft, which brought President Mitterrand and his traveling companions to the Soviet Union, at the Baykonur cosmodrome.

Nevertheless, it's clearly too early for euphoria. It is, of course, impossible to solve all the existing problems at one such meeting, and, as the Paris-based LIBERATION writes, it would be naive to assume that following the Moscow talks France has once again taken up a central position in Soviet foreign policy. One way or another, however, Mitterrand's trip has made it possible to take an important step in that direction. Both capitals now intend to do all they can to ensure that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to France next year brings new and specific results in the development of Franco-Soviet links. The period of stagnation in our relations has been overcome, but considerable mutual effort is still required in order to restore their former dynamism.

[Volskiy] I would like to refer to another important visit to our country, which is taking place this week—the visit by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. It's a visit which is opening up a qualitatively new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations. This is something which is important not only for our two countries, but also for the international situation as a whole.

You are aware, comrades, of how complex relations have been between the Soviet Union and China over the past few years, or, indeed, decades. One cannot ignore the fact that this affected the international situation in a negative way. And now the process of normalizing relations between the USSR and the PRC, and the improvement of relations, is also making a great impact on international events, but this time a favorable one, a positive impact. It is helping to consolidate universal security and worldwide peace, and this impact will be all the more important the more wholeheartedly our two great countries cooperate. There is scope for such cooperation, for interaction between the two. It is possible to build our mutual relations up to a level corresponding to the responsibility for world affairs borne by both the Soviet Union and China.

There is scope, and a certain amount has already been achieved in this area. We need only recall that the Soviet Union and China are the only nuclear powers who have declared that they will not make first use of nuclear weapons. Does this not set an example for others? Both our countries are against the militarization of space and both the Soviet Union and China—once again, incidentally, in contrast to the Western nuclear powers—have officially joined the Roratonga Treaty, which proclaims the southern Pacific a nuclear-free zone. Both our countries, each in its own way admittedly, are protesting against the revival of Japanese militarism, cautioning against it.

I could also mention other cases in which our viewpoints coincide or come close—not, by any means, on every issue of course, because our differences are no secret either. If, for instance, the Soviet and Chinese approaches to some regional conflicts—such as the Near East and southern Africa conflicts—are largely determined by the same principles, our approaches to other conflicts, such as those around Afghanistan or Cambodia, have been, or at least were until recently, from largely differing viewpoints.

[Vedenyapin] But here too, incidentally, there are signs of a rapprochement in viewpoints. China, for example, has supported the Geneva Afghanistan agreements and the Cambodian settlement process.

[Volskiy] And it's no coincidence that the Cambodian settlement is an issue which came up during the Chinese foreign minister's talks in Moscow. Of course, it's too early to draw a line under Cambodia or Afghanistan. Events there are unfolding in a rapid and, as you know, far from straightforward, manner. But that's another matter. The important thing to note, however, is that China has supported the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first treaty on real nuclear disarmament, which as you know, is now being implemented in practice. I remind you that that treaty applies not only to Europe, as was initially intended, but, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, to the Asia-Pacific Ocean region as well—that is, to the region in which the Soviet Union and China are neighbors, and where an improvement in their relations and interaction could play a particularly important role, both in ensuring security in the area and in economic cooperation, because in the Pacific Ocean region one is inseparable from the other. And it is precisely on this organic link between economics and politics that the Soviet proposals for normalizing the situation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region, put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as far back as 1986 in Vladivostok and recently in Krasnoyarsk, are built.

[Belyayev] Well, I think that the shifts connected with the transfer, so to speak, of the scene of action of the INF Treaty, on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, to the Asian-Pacific region have largely fostered the appearance of the Chinese foreign minister in Moscow. Actually, no other problems are being advanced now as impediments for a future summit meeting. These shifts are evident both in Cambodia and, incidentally, in Afghanistan. China has agreed in this respect not only to official recognition of the Geneva agreements, but also the tone of its views on what has been happening in Afghanistan does not support those who are violating the Geneva agreements.

[Vedenyapin] I return to the two speeches of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev which you mentioned—in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk—and I wish to note that the development of Soviet-Chinese relations was viewed in both those speeches as one of the most important components of a general normalization of the situation both in Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

[Volskiy] Well, it is an even more promising development that both the Soviet Union and China are now tackling social-economic and political tasks pertaining to the renovation of socialism which are largely similar. Of course, the reform being implemented in each of our two countries has a specific character. In some spheres one country is achieving more at the present time, and in other spheres the other. I will cite the opinion of Western analysts on this account. They are fairly unanimous in considering the Soviet Union significantly ahead of China in reforms of the political system, whereas China has moved further along the road to economic reforms, insofar as it set about them earlier.

Indeed, the introduction of financial autonomy, lease contracting, and principles of profitability has, since approximately the end of the seventies and the start of the eighties, begun to liberate the initiative of millions of people in China, and has even produced real fruits such as broad cooperation on mutually acceptable conditions with foreign capital and the creation of free zones, for example. As a result, the PRC's rate of economic growth has jumped sharply. In the current year of 1988, China's GNP will, according to preliminary forecasts, exceed by 12 percent last year's GNP. True, the side effects of such fast growth are also evident: inflation, growth in prices, and a shortage of a number of goods—for example, ration cards were recently introduced for salt.

But in both countries we have something to learn from each other, and can assimilate each other's experience, both positive and maybe negative, in order to move ahead quickly and in such a way that one leg does not impede the other and that one does not stumble. And economic cooperation is no less important for the solution of such problems—and not merely bilateral, but also on a scale of the Asian-Pacific region as a whole, including, say, Japan with its technology and the United States and other states in the region.

[Vedenyapin] Well then, each can indeed make its contribution to establishing a system of equitable economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. Yet it is no less important to also collaborate in solving political problems.

[Volskiy] And here is what I would like to say about that: There is, of course, logic in the fact that soon after the recent visit of Comrade Gorbachev to India and soon after the current Soviet-Chinese talks, a visit by Prime Minister Gandhi of India to China is to begin, and you naturally know of the conflicting relations which existed between India and China in the past. But conflicting relations have existed and remain to some degree between the ASEAN countries and the states of Indochina. However, there have been very fruitful talks in the past few days in Vietnam with the Philippines foreign minister and with the foreign minister of one of the leading ASEAN countries. In other words, the mechanism of talks, the mechanism for a diplomatic solution to problems on the whole Asian Continent is unfolding generally. Here the voice of diplomats can be heard, perhaps louder than the voice of the generals. But the latter are not silent, figuratively speaking.

The militaristic circles of the United States are planning, for instance, to increase the strength of the U.S. 7th Fleet by 10 percent by 1990, which operates I will remind you, in the Pacific, as well as Indian Ocean. Yet, the U.S. naval forces in the Pacific Ocean already exceed the Soviet Navy's by three times in terms of the number of ships, and by almost 10 times in the number of decktop aircraft. Seventy percent of the ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet have nuclear armaments on board, and cruise missiles have been installed on many of them. This fleet also contains submarines with strategic nuclear missiles. And now, finally, attempts are being made to involve Japan in all these plans.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, you are currently speaking about conventional weapons, but now the specter of Star Wars has loomed in Asia and this region. Just the day before yesterday documents were to be signed whereby nine major Japanese corporations would begin the first stage of research to create an anti-missile defense for the western part of the Pacific Ocean—WestPac as the program is known. This is being paid for by the Pentagon and is being enacted under the Star Wars program. And in December the Pentagon will provide the Japanese with its estimate of the extent of danger, so to speak, in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, and a detailed conclusion will be made on the basis of that data about what specific kind of missile system and technological production is needed.

In this way, the Japanese arms industry will make a radical turn toward creating its own weapons of a new generation. What does that actually entail? That means a direct violation of the constitution of that country, which prohibits participation in collective combat activities. The Asian version of SDI contradicts both the peace clauses in Japan's constitution and the principle of renouncing arms exports which Japan has proclaimed.

[Belyayev] Well, we gave a principled evaluation of that back in September last year. The participation of Japan in SDI testifies, such is our deep conviction, to its further involvement in U.S. military-strategic plans.

[Volskiy] That precisely proves once more just how important it is to strive for a normalization of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

[Vedenyapin] But that region, despite all the militaristic preparations which are going on there, has one advantage over Europe and the North Atlantic zone. No military alliances have been formed there to confront each other. There are none, at least not for the time being. And that creates opportunities for a more active peace diplomacy. However, attempts are being made to deprive the Asia-Pacific region of that advantage and to establish a military alliance both in the east of the continent and in the central and western part. In particular, the specter of the CENTO bloc recently rose from nonexistence. Many of our radio listeners probably do not even remember this bloc because it was established in the fifties due to English and American involvement in Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan.

Subsequently, the bloc collapsed and crumbled, but now they want to regenerate it, writes the Western press, and to regenerate it on an even more broad basis. They want to include Afghanistan—for the sake of this the undeclared war is largely being conducted and all the aggressive actions of the irreconcilable opposition are being encouraged—and Iran once again, using the internal clashes which are being observed there after the end of the war with Iraq.

All this of course testifies to the fact that attempts to counter the positive changes in Asia are continuing both in the east and west of the continent. Notably, attempts to impede the resolution of the Palestinian problem and the Middle East conflict are also linked with this.

The international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people was widely marked on 29 November, and this date returns us to a very important event: the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state, that is, the event which should have occurred some 40 years ago.

[Belyayev] But it didn't occur at that time, and the fact that it is precisely today, in 1988, that the creation of an independent Palestinian state was proclaimed, returns us, I think, to the need to recall the powerful legal basis for that step. First, Resolution 181, adopted on 29 November 1947, enshrined the right of Palestinians to their own state. Clearly, the point of that resolution was to create two states on the site of mandate Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish. The Jewish one appeared—that's the State of Israel—and the Palestinian one has appeared now. Moreover, what is interesting is that the process of reorganizing the Palestinian state has already gone so far that we can say today that over 70 states have recognized that state.

But I would like to return to yet another document. This document was also adopted at the next session after 1947—in December 1948—Resolution 194. It once again enshrined the right of Palestinian refugees expelled from the territory of former Palestine, so to speak, during the year of the war against the Arab states. They have been living since then on the territory of neighboring Arab states—there are almost 3 million of them there now. So, these refugees have a right to return home on the basis of this resolution. However, if anybody declines to return to his native heartland he must be given financial compensation. Consequently, the legal basis... [Belyayev changes thought] Moreover, I want to stress that UN decisions do not have retroactive force. They are ageless. The Palestinians have allegedly suddenly thought about it, and have just now started implementing Resolution 181, with no foundations of any kind.

What attitude have the Israelis adopted toward what I would call this very important political act—what is more, toward the conditions of the uprising on the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, an uprising which is not ending and which is now nearing its first anniversary? That anniversary will become fact on 7-8 December. In essence, they—I mean the present rulers of Israel, both Mr Shamir, the head of the Likud bloc, and all those who support his policy—have declared that they are ignoring the virtual recognition of the State of Israel by the Palestinians and that they will not conduct any negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Consequently, the conflict in the Near East is now, in essence, entering, as it were, a new stage, a qualitatively new stage. The meaning of this stage is that Israel will today be joining battle with the United Nations. The United Nations gave birth to the State of Israel and has become its main opponent.

[Volskiy] Incidentally, this was highlighted by the vote on the resolution condemning the United States for refusing to issue a visa to 'Arafat. In essence, the overwhelming majority of states voted against the United States and Israel. They were left isolated in the United Nations, if one doesn't count Britain, which abstained.

[Belyayev] But the United States is now demonstrating in general that it does not have a policy of its own in the Near East, for they are essentially following in the wake, so to speak, of Shamir or the Likud bloc. And therefore, again, if we are talking about what is new in the Near East situation, it is that the United States on the eve of the new President's arrival in the White House, has in essence ended up right back where it began. That is, with a policy it has promoted, which is essentially the destruction of all positive features which had existed hitherto.

Israel is still coming out against the summoning of an international conference on the Near East, within the framework of which it would be possible to seek a balance of interests which we and other states favor. And I feel today, on the eve of 1989, we are on the threshold of very interesting changes in the whole Near Eastern and Middle Eastern region. Why did I say this? Well, let us take the situation on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

The Iran-Iraq war appears to have ended, but the negotiations between Iran and Iraq are being spun out—and moreover, this spinning-out is premeditated—and some kinds of problems which are not decisively important are being put forward. But the most interesting thing is the point which we have already mentioned today. Iran is on the eve of joining the arms race itself so to speak and, so it claims, believes that in order for Iran to continue to play its part in the Persian Gulf region it must arm itself exactly to the same level as, or even higher than, Iraq.

[Volskiy] One Iranian figure uttered this noteworthy phrase a few days ago: The production of chemical and even bacteriological arms is necessary for Iran, since they are, he claimed, the poor man's bomb.

[Belyayev] Now there's a totally unexpected turn for you, added to which, they are talking about missiles. Moreover, perhaps I shall be talking about this on Soviet radio for the first time, ties have already appeared now between Iran and Argentina in the sphere of nuclear arms production. That is to say, to put it briefly, nuclear arms are already appearing in the Near East, both in Israel and now in the Persian Gulf region—through Iran in that part of the Near and Middle East as well. And finally, the last point: I think all our listeners paid attention when it was mentioned on the "Vremya" program on Thursday that a U.S. adviser was killed when another counterrevolutionary gang was crushed in Afghanistan. Consequently, the Americans are not only violating the Geneva agreements by continuing their arms supplies, but they are still supplying their military advisers, who are essentially directing the activities of the Afghan counterrevolutionary opposition.

And the talks which have begun in Islamabad have lent an impetus, for example, to the following reasoning too. For example, Professor Rabbani—he is indeed a professor, a theologian, at some time he taught disciplines connected with Islam at Kabul University—aspires to negotiations at the very highest level. And as for what happened in Islamabad, where members of the commission on the problem of our prisoners of war discussed that problem with representatives of the Afghan opposition, they then rated those talks as some sort of step toward insuring a constant escalation of the level [not further specified].

I think the solution of internal Afghan problems and the final result that they reach is a matter for the Afghans themselves. Although Najibullah's proposal on summoning some kind of international conference in Mecca or in another city in Saudi Arabia is, I think, a fruitful idea. And I feel that now the situation in the Near and Middle East still remains very, very tense. But we as Soviet people, of course, would like the situation in Afghanistan to favor the full withdrawal of the Soviet forces limited contingent units by 15 February. For that will not only promote fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, but our entanglement, so to speak, in the Afghan problem will virtually be reduced to politics, and politics requires negotiations. Politics requires, in the final analysis, joint efforts, which will probably be displayed.

[Vedenyapin] The time for our program has come to an end. Thank you comrade listeners for your attention. Until we meet again!

Radio Program on Gorbachev Visit, Economic Zones

LD0212234788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1315 GMT 2 Dec 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Igor Surguchev, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator, with Vsevolod Ivanovich Somov, deputy director of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate; and Boris Andrianov, Vladimir Pasko, Vladimir Fadeyev, Konstantin Patsyuk, and Yuriy Isayev, each identified by Surguchev as "my colleague"]

[Excerpts] [Surguchev] Today as usual we will answer your questions and tell you about the things that interest you. I think we have good reason to start the program by talking about upcoming important events of international significance. I am thinking of the trip by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to New York to address the UN General Assembly, and his subsequent official visits to Cuba and Great Britain. So the end of this year, too, is marked with great dynamism in Soviet diplomacy, under the sign of our country's active foreign activity for peace, detente, and disarmament.

I have invited Vsevolod Ivanovich Somov, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate to talk about this. Over to you, Vsevolod Ivanovich:

[Somov] It can be said with certainty, even now, that this event will have a real effect on the international situation. It is being reported from UN circles, for example, that the interest in the upcoming address by the Soviet leader is growing literally by the day. The USSR Supreme Soviet session and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report, and of course the foreign policy (?shift) of our country's higher organ of power have had great repercussions. Particular attention is being paid to the fact that in the context of political reform an effective mechanism with full authority according to the Constitution is being set up for businesslike and qualified discussion of foreign policy questions. [passage omitted]

It is the first time in UN history that the head of the Soviet state has taken part in a General Assembly session. This is certainly a reflection of the great significance that the Soviet Union attaches to the world organization, and will be an important international event. We expect the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to speak in the building on the (?East River) and set out the USSR's approaches to the most important problems of world development.

[Sugurchev] Vsevolod Ivanovich, journalists are linking Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's planned stay in the United States with a possible meeting between him and the present and future U.S. Presidents. What do you think about this?

[Somov] Like you, Igor Olegovich, and our colleagues working in international affairs, I am now reading a lot of reports, especially from U.S. papers and magazines, which often contain proposals full of initiative about places for possible meetings between the Soviet leader and Ronald Reagan and George Bush in New York—the biggest city in the United States. I think we should leave this topic for the moment as the prerogative of those concerned with state protocol in the USSR and the United States. [passage omitted]

[Sugurchev] Vsevolod Ivanovich, the changeover of the U.S. President is a lengthy process which has a noticeable influence every 4 years on U.S. foreign policy. Many observers who are familiar with the order of things in the White House feel there have often been in the past pauses, breaks in the adoption of decisions concerning international affairs and the degree of participation in them. How are things this time?

[Somov] Now the situation is presumed to be different. A person has become President who as vice president actively supported Reagan's line and who confirmed his allegiance to its basic components during the lengthy electoral campaign. I think there is another important circumstance. During the campaign the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, at working level as they say, continued and was being conducted on literally all topics. And I will note that it was not only in the purely foreign policy sphere, though first of all I will say something about that. Step by step the positions of the two sides are getting closer on some of the important questions of arms cutting and practical disarmament. [passage omitted]

I want to say in conclusion that just the list of Soviet-U.S. documents that have been signed in the last few years covers quite a few pages. Summit meetings give a powerful impulse to the joint diplomatic work. They respond with laborious searches for solutions that will lead to new agreements. [passage omitted]

[Surguchev] A letter from Comrade Lukyanov in Ufa raises the question of the free economic zones that are being discussed in our press. What is the idea behind these zones? Do they exist in other socialist countries? Questions on the samne topic are asked by Irina Nikolayevna Sergeyeva from Leningrad and Petr Yefimovich Smirnov from Petrozavodsk. My colleague Vladimir Pasko is here to answer them:

[Pasko] Economic free zones are zones where there are favorable tax and customs rules in force. They help to develop business activity and to attract capital. Such zones have existed for a long time in the West. They are new in the socialist countries. Their appearance was a consequence of the development of industrial cooperation with Western firms, the appearance of joint enterprises, and an attempt to overcome the problems that this cooperation runs into as a result of the differences in the way different countries conduct their economic activity. Such zones currently exist in China, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland. They do not have a lot of experience, and to judge from the press the results are not clear. One of the recent publications by the CEMA secretariat notes, for example, that the activity of joint enterprises in such zones in Hungary have shortcomings and advantages. The firms there are placed on the same footing as foreign ones in the foreign trade sphere, and this has brought about difficulties in their relations with the national enterprises that exist outside the economic free zone. In other words, all this calls for analysis.

I want to say that some of our listeners who have joined in the debate about the idea of creating such zones here have adopted a negative and very sharp position. Surely in the 72d year of Soviet power we can do without Western technology and credits. What do we need all this for, Comrade Sergeyeva exclaims in her letter. But I must admit that I do not even understand our listener's approach. Why in the 72d year of Soviet power, which put forward the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, does she consider natural economic cooperation with the West to be somehow humiliating for us? It is just as difficult to understand those who regard the setting up of joint enterprises with the West as bordering on the resurrection of capitalism. It would be interesting to know how these comrades regard those Western firms with which we participate.

Following their logic one could assert that these firms are shaking the roots of capitalism, but for some reason the West keeps quiet about that. These conclusions have no real foundation. What is real is that both in the West and the East, in the socialist countries, there is an interest in businesslike, mutually advantageous, economic and scientific cooperation. The thing is to create optimum conditions for this. The idea of economic free zones is only being discussed here at the moment. All the pros and cons are being weighed. I would like to note that the possibility of forming zones with a technical orientation only is being discussed. We want cooperation with Western firms to contribute to the appearance of the most modern output, which could be sold in third countries for hard currency, and to supply our own enterprises, contributing to their modernization.

And another detail: When we speak of industrial cooperation with the West we have as our aim not so much to attract front-rank Western technologies—as long as the Coordinating Commission on Export Control ban list exists there can obviously not be any noticeable progress in this—but to introduce our own front-rank technology, which for a number of different reasons Soviet industry is unable to quickly master and which floats away abroad. As Academician Bogomolov noted in a recent interview, it is a matter of joining Soviet scientific thought with the experience of Western companies in introducing new technology into commercial transactions.

I repeat, the forms of this sort of interaction are only being worked out. It is too soon to say what sort of final shape they will take. But the fact that cooperation is useful should not be in any doubt, in my opinion, and not only from an economic point of view, but from a political one, too. [passage omitted]

Andreyev Views Results of Vienna OPEC Conference

NC0112171088 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Vladimir Andreyev commentary]

[Excerpts] The OPEC petroleum ministers' conference has ended successfully in Vienna. The conferees once again reached an agreement on oil production quotas. Commenting on the outcome of this conference, our analyst Vladimir Andreyev writes: [passage omitted]

I would like to say that without the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq war front, a new agreement could not have been reached. This is something on which many observers agree. As we know, had the 8-year Iran-Iraq war continued, OPEC's unity and, therefore, its strength would have been destroyed. In their efforts to compensate for the extremely heavy damages and deaths that they suffered, both Iran and Iraq failed to observe the quotas set for oil production. However, a bad example is contagious. Following these two countries, many other OPEC members—both overtly and covertly—exceeded their quotas. Internal discipline in OPEC decreased, and as a result the price of oil started to fall. This was also to the detriment of other oil producers. Thus, the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq stirred a feeling of some optimism and created hopes that the situation would improve.

In order to achieve this, however, OPEC had to go through some extremely intensive discussions. The fact is that Iraq refuses to sign an agreement with OPEC if its oil production quota is not made equivalent to that of Iran. Nonetheless, hopes that the differences of views will be overcome have not been lost. These hopes, first and foremost, stem from Iran's changed stands on many international and regional issues. The Iranian leaders are overtly basing their stand on a logical and flexible approach to the solution of these issues. This was manifested in Iran's acceptance of a cease-fire with Iraq and in its agreement with Iraq during the recent Vienna OPEC conference. It is also a source of great joy that Iran's wish to search for peaceful and logical solutions has been reciprocated by Iraq. As a result, Iran has agreed to an oil production quota equal to that of Iraq, and Iraq's leaders have in turn, given Iran certain concessions.

Our commentator adds: I do not want to speak about the nature of the agreement that has been reached. But the fact that this agreement was achieved on the basis of an equilibrium in the interests of the two countries, and will thus bear fruit for both sides, is very important.

The OPEC conference in Vienna showed that these two countries can achieve mutually acceptable decisions. The petroleum ministers of Iran and Iraq, in contrast to their colleagues—the foreign ministers of the two countries who are meeting in Geneva—were able to achieve marked progress. However, the experience gained in Vienna may enable the Geneva talks, in which all the aspects of Iran-Iraq relations are being discussed, to achieve a better result. I think that this possibility exists.

United States & Canada

Reportage, Commentary on Gorbachev U.S. Visit

Gorbachev Seen Off at Airport

OW0612105088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev left Moscow this afternoon at 1245 for New York to attend the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

Seeing Comrade Gorbachev off at the airport were members and candidate members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials. [video shows Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Yakovlev, Zaykov, Vorotnikov, Chebrikov, Yazov, Lukyanov, Ligachev, and others waving to Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva as the latter board their plane]

Further on Departure

LD0612100088 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 6 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev left Moscow for New York today to attend the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet will then pay official visits to Cuba and Britain at the invitation of these countries' leadership.

The Soviet leader is being accompanied on the tour by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, and Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Prepared To Meet U.S. 'Half-Way'

LD0612101288 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

On Tuesday Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev left for New York where he will address the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on December 7, setting out the Soviet leadership's views on major problems of world development.

The decision to address the General Assembly was prompted by the Soviet side's profound conviction that the United Nations Organization (UNO) is an indispensable mechanism in the quest for a peaceful solution to international issues, for resolution of crisis situations, and for settlement of other global problems. The Soviet Union is gratified to note the growing activity of the UNO and its agencies recently.

Soviet diplomatic circles regard the first-ever visit to the United Nations organization by a head of the Soviet state—president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—as a contribution to enhancing U.N. prestige and augmenting U.N. resources.

During his time in New York Mikhail Gorbachev will meet President Reagan and President-elect Bush. The Soviet leadership intends to talk about important substantive matters concerning real political cooperation between the two countries on the broadest range of problems, including the state of affairs and prospects for further headway in the fields of arms limitation and reduction, human rights, a settlement of regional conflicts, and the development of bilateral relations.

The state of Soviet-U.S. relations now opens up wide possibilities for developing large-scale bilateral cooperation in a whole number of directions. The Soviet Union and the United States are faced with real problems on which both the future of our relations, our two peoples, and the security of the entire world depend. This is why the Soviet side considers it important to continue to strengthen awareness of the need to maintain stability and predictability in relations between the USSR and the USA.

The Soviet Union is prepared to meet the U.S. half-way 'to give substance' to the constructive continuity notion which has been mentioned by U.S. and Soviet representatives.

News Conference at UN

LD0612003688 Moscow TASS in English 0032 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—All people are now interested in the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the United Nations Organization, his upcoming speech at the U.N., a conversation with the U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush. In this connection a press conference was held on Monday at the USSR Press Centre at the U.N. Headquarters, given by N. Shishlin, deputy head of the press centre, Academician G. Arbatov and G. Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

It is clear that the time has come to think together what we must do so that the "cold war" could recede into the past for good, Shishlin said, so that international relations could develop calmly and harmoniously, and so that we could find a balance of interests of major powers and small states.

And, of course, Gorbachev's meetings with Reagan and Bush will show that there is no pause in the Soviet-American dialogue. A greater predictability of Soviet-American relations is already a gain scored by the new political thinking. The press conference participants answered numerous questions of journalists about the new Soviet approach to problems of universal peace and security and stressed the importance of developing—with the participation of the entire international community—of new concepts of safeguarding universal peace.

Solton on Meeting Reagan, Bush

LD0512225588 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] After making a speech at the New York session of the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday, Mikhail Gorbachev is to meet President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush, who is to move into the White House on the 20th of January. Many observers have been trying to guess what the planned meeting will be like and whether it will only see a polite farewell said to the outgoing President and a handshaking offered to the coming one. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton has made this prediction:

The very fact of another Soviet-American summit is significant as such, demonstrating continuity in relations between the leaders of the two countries, whose impact on the world process is recognized as strong. It shows the change in the Washington administration promises no continuous pauses in the ongoing political dialogue. [sentence as heard]

Although the planned meeting is going to be brief, it will evidently go beyond the framework of a mere ceremony. The Soviet leadership, at least, is determined to launch discussion of a wide range of meaningful issues, from disarmament to the protection of human rights. One should not forget either that the summit will follow Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, where the Soviet leader is expected to advance new and important initiatives.

In his regular address to the nation last Saturday, Mr Reagan described the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in New York as giving hope of furthering peace. The President said the journey to better relations between the two nations had been and continued to be difficult, but nonetheless it had to be pursued. In the meantime, George Bush has made a meaningful statement to Knight-Ridder newspapers, saying his approach to American-Soviet relations boiled down to the wish for further progress on the basis of the existing achievements. Although using the restrictive attribute cautious, Mr Bush indicated he was hoping for further onward movement to be made in the next few months.

One would like to believe that the President-elect will not keep silent during the forthcoming meeting, although he says he is going to spend most of his time listening rather than speaking. Mr George Bush has long since been the second largest figure in the Reagan team. He took an active part in drafting the policy guidelines that helped his country begin a dialogue with the Soviet Union, signed last year's Washington treaty scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles, outlined ways to slash other types of weapons and unblock regional conflicts. Also, he knows the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in person and has several times had a tete-a-tete meeting with him. In a word, no one would think of describing George Bush as a novice in American-Soviet affairs. Hence the major significance of his recognition of the need for constructive continuity. The chief task is to embody the continuity notion in tangible actions. Moscow is ready for this kind of work and views the planned New York summit as an opportunity for coordinating specific steps rather than a formal goodbye- hello ceremony, the more as so the list of the already existing achievements is quite impressive.

Of course, the differences between the two nations are still considerable, but it is at a table of talks rather than in a battlefield or by resorting to force that the USSR and the United States should decide how to coexist without threatening each other, but maintaining a balance of interests and respecting each other's right to pursue the once-chosen course. This is expected to make this world safer and as far as the forthcoming New York meeting is concerned, one should not rule out pleasant surprises, either, such as accords on more active work to slash conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe or draft an agreement for cuts in strategic offensive arsenals, or normalize the situation in and around Afghanistan.

Some voices in the United States have been saying the American leaders ought to listen carefully to everything Mikhail Gorbachev will choose to say, but show sensible caution. One should observe in this connection in Moscow, too, policymakers are used to verifying word by deed. The Soviet Union and the United States are facing real problems, the resolution of which will have an effect on both the future of Soviet-American relations and the world security. Official groups in this country think it essential to further mutual understanding and insure stability and predictability in bilateral relations. The USSR is ready to go its half of the way and back up the recent achievements of Soviet-American summit contacts by practical moves. The planned meeting in New York promises to offer this kind of a chance.

PRAVDA Sets Scene for Visit

PM0512195988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Special correspondents G. Vasilyev, V. Linnik, and V. Sukhoy dispatch: "From December to December"]

[Text] New York, Dec—Almost 1 year has passed since that evening when we journalists who had covered the

Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington took off from Andrews Air Force Base. We took off with abundant impressions. The treaty on the elimination of two classes of missiles had been signed and had become the first real step along the path to a nuclear-free world. The Soviet-U.S. Joint Statement on the summit had been adopted, defining the principles and ways of further advancement in the improvement of relations between the two countries. There had been an exchange of opinions on future joint actions by the USSR and the United States, primarily on the problems of radically reducing strategic offensive weapons.

Apart from these specific achievements, however, we took away something else of importance: the surge of hope, the good feelings of the Americans. That was the time, we believe, that the "enemy image," the image whereby the Soviet Union had been depicted for that country's people for years on end, started noticeably to yield ground.

A year has passed since then. The Washington meeting was followed in May-June by the Moscow meeting of the two countries' leaders. There began the practical implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the physical destruction of these missiles. Substantial work has been done on the complex issues of a 50-percent reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have been signed, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country has gotten under way. Progress has been achieved toward the unblocking of other regional conflicts. An active dialogue has been launched between the Soviet Union and West Europe, as evidenced by the more frequent visits by West European leaders to Moscow and foreign trips by Soviet leaders.

From December to December.... M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States last year began 7 December. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will again step onto U.S. soil 6 December 1988. He will arrive in New York to address the UN General Assembly session and share his thoughts on world affairs with representatives of the world community.

The Soviet Union attaches major importance to UN activity. It believes that, by its nature, the United Nations has been assigned the role of an important mechanism capable of conducting a responsible discussion at representative level of the common problems of our complex, interlinked, and interdependent world. This potential grows sharply in conditions in which the ideas of the new political thinking are gaining increasing recognition among the world's social and political circles. The United Nations is called upon to play, and is capable of playing, an important role in building a world order whereby disputes are resolved via a quest for compromises, whereby the peoples live in peace and cooperation with one another.

It is impossible to deny the viability of the changes which have occurred in international life in the last few years. The process of renewal, of assertion of the principles of the new political thinking, and of rejection of yesterday's dogmas and attitudes is gathering strength. The affirmation of the new culture of dialogue and mutual relations among members of the world community have become possible thanks to the fruitful Soviet-U.S. contacts, the constructive initiatives of the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of Six," and, finally, the will and maturity of all states belonging to the international community.

A special role in this process of renewal today has to be played by the United Nations, the sole universal international organization embracing all aspects of the world community's life. The times when it served as the arena for propaganda battles are receding into the past. Today the organization is increasingly becoming a forum for businesslike, democratic, and nonconfrontational dialogue. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said in a recent report: "...we are possibly witnessing a transition—maybe slow and at times even hesitant—toward a new model of relations on a global level."

The new political thinking, based on the priority of universal values and respect for the freedom of choice, is coming to the fore in the determination of the foreign policy of an increasing number of states. The idea of the demilitarization, humanization, and democratization of international relations is acquiring real meaning. In these conditions there are emerging prospects for ensuring both universal and national security not along the path of military-power confrontation but by rendering universal the principle of peaceful coexistence, balance of interests, trust, and cooperation.

The 43d UN General Assembly Session now approaching its end is being held beneath the sign of renewal processes and, in its turn, is providing an incentive for their intensification. Plenary sessions of all the main committees have analyzed the state of affairs in all spheres of international relations and the prospects for the world situation's development. The world community is unanimous in its assessment of the main issue: Today's world is safer and more stable than it was a few years ago.

The Soviet leader's speech to the UN General Assembly is being awaited here with particular interest, insofar as the steps taken by the Soviet Union in recent years attest to the USSR's intention to enhance the role played by the United Nations in international affairs, in the solution of disarmament problems, and in the solution of many other issues—the settlement of regional conflicts, ecological problems, and problems in the humanitarian sphere. There is no doubt that the USSR's constructive stand in relation to the United Nations has given the world community confidence that the gigantic problems facing mankind will nevertheless be solved. The speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the closing stage of the session's work is in itself confirmation of the important role the USSR ascribes to this international organization. It also shows that the stage of real action and the translation of words into deeds in the international community is now upon us.

Some 3,000 mass media workers from all over the world have asked to be accredited to the United Nations for the duration of the Soviet leader's visit to New York.

A line of journalists waiting to be accredited forms outside the accreditation bureau in the UN building from morning onward. This procedure is well organized and takes only a matter of minutes. You fill in a form, have your photograph taken—and the "Polaroid" promptly delivers your picture. A piece of card with your photograph attached and bearing your signature is encased in plastic with a clasp or chain attached—and your accreditation for the week is ready. True, it remains a mystery to us why the form you have to fill in beforehand contains a section on your marital status. Evidently bureaucratic superfluities are the spirit of the time.

After giving his address at the UN Headquarters on East River M.S. Gorbachev will meet President R. Reagan, coming to the end of his second term, and G. Bush, who is to succeed him. During their business conversation, according to an official White House spokesman, the sides will discuss questions of continuity in Soviet-U.S. relations and their future development under the new U.S. Administration which will set about fulfilling its duties on 20 January 1989.

December and the approach of the New Year dispose one to an examination of the past and attempts to see into the future. This natural desire, characteristic of people at this junction of the years, is underpinned on this occasion by another circumstance. Soon after the New Year there will be a "changing of the guard" in Washington. Although the majority of observers predict a smooth transition from one government to the next—after all, the new president was vice-president under the old one—one cannot help but expect changes in both the style and essence of policy. Government offices in the U.S. capital will be occupied by new people with their own views and ties. Naturally, our prime interest is what line the new administration intends to take in international affairs, including in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The day before M.S. Gorbachev's arrival in New York THE NEW YORK TIMES has published the findings of a public opinion poll conducted by the Gallup Institute and commissioned by the TIMES-MIRROR newspaper and journal company. In response to the question "Do you believe that the Soviet Union's commitment to a policy of peace will become even stronger as a result of those changes now taking place in this country?" 76 percent replied "Yes."

Judging by the interviews with passersby in the New York streets taken by television reporters, many ordinary Americans are very interested in the program for the Soviet leader's stay in the city on the Hudson. In the windows of some stores situated not far from the possible routes taken by the Soviet leader placards have appeared saying "Welcome, Gorbachev!" Everywhere preparations are under way for the meeting between U.S. President R. Reagan, Vice President G. Bush, and M.S. Gorbachev, which will take place on tiny Governors Island. Almost all the New York newspapers have carried a photograph showing members of the coastguard service pinning up a banner of welcome not far from the Governors Island ferry landing stage.

Many political analysts are noting that meetings between the Soviet and U.S. leaders are now, fortunately, nothing out of the ordinary and that no one now thinks to create a purely propaganda stir around them. As some political experts are pointing out, the Soviet Union's active foreign policy also requires new approaches to international affairs from the United States. William Hyland, editor of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, for example, wrote: "It would seem that the lessening of international tension and the fact that the bad 'cold war' years are behind us must attest to the absolute correctness of U.S. foreign policy, which mainly concentrates on solving America's basic problems. But no. The American people are now psychologically ready for qualitatively new relations with the Soviet Union, and the latter is demonstrating a desire to develop these relations even if they do not promise any instantaneous, immediate benefits.. ."

Foreign Ministry 'Expert' Cited

LD0512132088 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By Pavel Vorobev, expert of the USSR Foreign Ministry:

An extraordinary event is forthcoming in the overall process of Soviet-American relations—Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush. This will be the Soviet leader's fifth summit meeting with the head of the current U.S. Administration and the first with President-elect George Bush. The interest evoked by this event and by the Soviet leader's forthcoming speech at the United Nations is tremendous, indeed.

The outgoing stage of Soviet-American interaction has confirmed the importance of relations between the two great powers as a factor determining the keynote and, to a large extent, the very essence of the entire world process. Indeed, even today, when the world is gradually going over from a bipolar to a multipolar pattern, the Soviet Union and the United States continue to bear special responsibility for peace and security, for the solution of disarmament issues and of many other global problems. The past three years have been rather fruitful in this respect. The main thing today is to prepare the ground for further progress without overlooking the importance of the time factor.

The Soviet Union understands full well the intricacies of the period of power transfer to the new president of the United States. It is perfectly natural that the new administration will need some time to get its bearings in the complexity of domestic and international problems. But it is very important not to drag out this period. Marking time in international affairs, especially in the domain of arms limitation and reduction, is tantamount not only to loss of time, but to backsliding.

The foundation of Soviet-American interaction, jointly laid in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow, is strong and solid. But further success—herein lies one of the important lessons of previous stages in our relations—requires purposeful guidance, firmly set on achieving a positive result. Favourable tendencies are bound to run up against a sufficiently powerful countercurrent—against relapses of confrontation, inertia of military programmes, possible aggravations of a regional or other nature. This is why the future Soviet-American dialogue can hardly be expected to run smoothly all along. Only reciprocal efforts will allow us to overcome possible difficulties, to achieve new positive results. It is precisely against this background that the new york meeting stands out as an important and necessary step.

Kondrashov Views U.S.-Soviet Relations

PM3011120088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47, 20 Nov 88 p 3

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Let's Not Beat Around the Bush"]

[Text] This time the presidential election in the United States neither attracted our special attention nor became a source of our anxiety. Even Soviet Americanists were now more preoccupied with development at home than with events in a country which is the object of their professional interest. Thank God, gone are the times when we studied another power under a microscope, while our own policy had to be taken as something immutable, wise and, of course, given for ever.

The second reason for this year's calm attitude towards the American election is we were confident as to its main outcome for us. No matter who might carry the day—Bush or Dukakis—the essential element of continuity would remain in the development of Soviet-American relations. They have developed on the ascendant in the latter half of the 1980s, especially in the last year of harvest: the INF Treaty, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the movement towards settling other regional conflicts, taking the irksome edge off the human rights problem. Not all the expectations have come true, but in Geneva and Vienna there is a reserve for the immediate future. It must be realized in a treaty for a 50-per-cent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and the immediate start of negotiations among 23 nations on lowering the level of conventional armaments in Europe; more than anything else the successful solution of this major problem would assist in joint constructive initiatives on the European continent and in East-West relations generally.

I see pluses in the fact that, while victory went to Bush, a Republican, the democratics have retained their majority in both houses of Congress. this alignment of forces holds out the promise of forces holds out the promise of a greater balance in the US foreign policy course and will help the pragmatically-minded new President slice extreme excesses by conservative "ideologists" within his own party.

And yet it is not only the similarity of Reagan and Bush's views that fueled our confidence in continuity, but and primarily the fact that continuity mirrors the sentiments and will of the majority of Americans. Neither Bush nor Dukakis evoked particular enthusiasm, as we all know, and the abstention of exactly a half of the electorate from going to the polls testifies most eloquently to this effect. Yet, in the field of relations with the Soviet Union, the people's mandate was perfectly explicit: steady!

It ought to be explained that the word "steady!" also includes an adherence to what in America is known as a policy of strength. There must be no delusions this score. This implies an American strength at approximately its present level, calling for roughly 300 billion dollars a year for its maintenance. The present Congress hasn't given more, and the new one will hardly allow more to be spent either. Many Democrats and some Republicans will call for a reduction in military spending. Their success or failure depends on pressure from domestic economic problems and also, to no less or even greater extent, on how the political circles and the public at large in the United States will "read" the facts and trends of Soviet military development.

Although our aggregate military spending is yet to be published, and although the Soviet defence industry is entering the lists against the chief internal enemy—the deficit—it stands to reason that we, too, are sorely in need of a slash in military spending. And, incidentally, we need an extensive and serious discussion of this hithertofore closed theme.

At this point two key words—interconnection and interaction—enter my (of necessity) terse analysis. And a third and most important word which we have endowed on the world—perestroyka. Indeed, the world is interconnected. And in perestroika, in the removal of the visor from the face of the Soviet state and society, it seems the best guarantee of positive development in the international situation.

Today Americans' attitude towards us is much better, but the continuing mistrust (and procrastination) may still entail their worst side. The opponents of advancing dialogue on the ascendent, knowing that their former argument about Soviet aggressiveness holds no water, have been playing on the contention that the future of Soviet perestroyka, its thoroughness and chances of success are still not clear. Like we ourselves, Americans yearn to see the ideas of perestroika backed up by concrete results. We want to see this primarily in our stores and in the quality of daily life. They—primarily in the reduction of our military spending, the strength of our armed forces, our military structure and military doctrine. They will not take us at our word. As proof, they will accept only new specific deeds of the same degree of visuality as, for instance, the sharp change in the Soviet approach towards control and inspection over the elimination of missiles.

Needless to say, we are entitled to demand equal proofs from the Americans. After all, the USSR and the USA, the East and West, are equal hostages in the nuclear age—and hostages of each other. But there is a need to take cognizance of one objective circumstance, one difference.

It is we, not they, who have proclaimed and are implementing perestroyka with a view to extricating ourselves from the quagmire dooming our country to backwardness. It is we, not they, who have come to a critical rendezvous with history. In the long run, they, in the West, live as they have lived—with all of their problems and plenty—but we are passing through a stormy turning point. Our stakes are higher, our foresight must be bolder and more piercing. We have found ourselves in an immensely responsible position of a pioneer whose deeds and example are activating the mechanism of world interaction and, specifically, influencing US foreign policy for better or for worse.

This is something which, I believe, is not out of place to recall a week after the election of the new American President.

U.S. Confirms Refusal of 'Arafat Visa

LD0212100188 Moscow TASS in English 0801 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 2 TASS—The United States has refused to reconsider its refusal to issue an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, who planned to address the current 43rd U.N. General Assembly session in New York. The U.S. mission on the United Nations informed Javier Perez de Cuellar, the U.N. secretary general, about this decision, in reply to the note he had addressed to the United States.

In keeping with the U.N. General Assembly's decision, which discussed specially this unlawful U.S. ruling, running counter to its commitments under the U.N. Headquarters agreement, the United Nations secretary general will report on the matter to the General Assembly today morning [as received].

The General Assembly has urged the United States to honour its agreement with the United Nations and to annul the decision refusing an entry visa to 'Arafat. 151 delegates voted for this appeal, two came out against it (USA and Israel), and one abstained (Great Britain).

The General Assembly is expected to vote today on the motion to transfer to Geneva the discussion of the Palestinian question, in which the PLO leader planned to take part.

U.S. Denies Visas to Soviet Journalists

LD0212112188 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

The U.S. Department of State denied visas to members of a delegation from Soviet trade union publications, who had been invited by an American trade union.

The U.S. decision, which is not the first of this kind, was based on the reactionary McCarran-Walter act allowing U.S. authorities to deny entry to the country by representatives of socialist countries.

The Soviet delegation that was to come to the United States included A. Potapov, editor-in-chief of the trade union newspaper TRUD, G. Semenova, editor-in-chief of the KRESTYANKA magazine, and three more journalists.

The delegation was invited by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers after two delegations of American reporters writing on the organised working-class movement in the U.S. had visited the Soviet Union earlier this year.

Soviet authorities not only put no obstacles to their arrival in the USSR but did everything possible to speed up the visa-issuing procedure.

A State Department spokesman, when asked about reasons for the refusal to grant visas to the Soviet journalists, cited the McCarran-Walter act, also known as the immigration and nationality act, which denies the right to enter the country to terrorists and members of governmental trade unions that are tools of communist regimes.

Ben Jastison said the Department of State found it impossible in this case to apply amendments to the act, providing for some exceptions to it, to the Soviet delegation.

He could not explain why the journalists had been denied U.S. visas.

THE WASHINGTON POST commented sarcastically that glasnost might be a good idea but not for everyone.

The denial of visas showed that the Department of State, despite its often-declared desire to expand people-to-people exchanges, actually puts obstacles to them.

TASS Notes Verity Remarks on Increased Trade

LD0212140288 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Maksim Kuznetsov:

"Far-reaching changes are taking place as the Soviet Union restructures its economy." "These reforms are moving the USSR in directions that are in our interest as well as theirs." "These changes are also creating growing opportunities for trade." This opinion is expressed by U.S. Commerce Secretary William Verity in the newspaper WALL STREET JOURNAL.

The newspaper prints a series of articles describing sweeping changes in Soviet society, above all in the sphere of politics and economy. The newspaper familiarizes its readers with opinions of Soviet and American specialists in trade cooperation. These opinions, sometimes conflicting, concur in one thing: there is no limit to cooperation between such big powers as the USSR and the USA.

"On the trade side, one of the accomplishments so far is that both sides agreed to start trade promotion programs and to support the development of trade exhibitions in each other's countries," writes Verity. "The Department of Commerce has organized several successful exhibitions of U.S. products in the USSR, with growing American interest in the Soviet market." The Soviet interest in trade is reflected in a special section of the WALL STREET JOURNAL, notes the minister.

Peter Orenski, president of the TME company, is more cautious about prospects for trade with the USSR. He is also for economic cooperation but remembers with regret some of his earlier experiences. "Today's Soviet Union is a marketer's dream. It can also be a businessman's nightmare," he writes. Orenski who many times visited Moscow, enumerates with regret shortcomings of the Soviet service system without which any businessman "will only waste time and money". He turns into a tourist, not a businessman, he says. Nevertheless, Orenski ends his article in the WALL STREET JOURNAL with an optimistic note. The leaders of the two countries, he concludes, "have created a business climate that would have been thought impossible just a few years ago. What we have to do now is merely the difficult—and that seems fair enough."

NASA Expert Cited on Joint Shuttle Ventures

LD0212143588 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov: Alan Ladwig [name as received] representative of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), believes that the successful "Energiya-Buran" flight was a spectacular achievement, ushering in a new stage in unmanned space flights.

Alan Ladwig, who heads a group of special projects at the NASA research department, said in a TASS interview that he was amazed most of all by the landing of the unmanned Soviet shuttle. From the technical point of view, he believes, this is a substantial success, which will make a weighty contribution to the further exploration of outer space. The NASA expert laid special emphasis on the fact that "Buran" was orbitted by an "Energiya" booster-rocket. It proved the universality of this system, the possibility of it being used both in manned and unmanned space flight. He noted that American scientists were now working on an unmanned reusable cargo vehicle—"Shuttle-C"—with an "Energiya" type booster. Ladwig said that such universal rocket transport systems were necessary for a phased penetration deeper into outer space. We are confronted with tremendous tasks, he said, and transport missions of shuttle-type space vehicles are the first steps in this direction. He noted that his group had been busy analyzing since 1987 certain projects for long-term exploration of the solar system, including a manned flight to the Mars by the year 2010. Final slection of the best project will be made in the early 90's.

The NASA representative said that in the meantime his group was studying optimal ways for their realisation with due consideration for the possibilities opened up in this field by international cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space, with the Soviet Union included.

'Notes' From Soviet-U.S. Rights Seminar

PM3011111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Dardykin and B. Ivanov article: "'Third Basket.' Notes From the First Soviet-U.S. Human Rights Seminar"]

[Text] We were reluctant to discuss this subject for so many years! With anyone. Most of all with the Americans. Discussing human rights in general—fine. We would discuss the position of the unemployed and homeless in their country as long as anyone wanted. But we would not discuss visas, emigration, or those whom they termed "political" prisoners. Did such people exist? Yes, and until quite recently too. Now all of a sudden we're talking. And it is not just anyone talking—it is Supreme Soviet deputies. And not just with anyone—with U.S. senators and congressmen. Or rather, with members of the U.S. Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe—the same commission that we have called nothing but "notorious" for more than 10 years.

The initiative to have parliamentarians from the two countries discuss the human rights problem was made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee during the last summit. The U.S. President agreed. The initiative is now being implemented.

What specifically was discussed at this first, to give it its official title, Soviet-U.S. Interparliamentary Seminar on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights? The plenary sessions and working group discussions talked about how the two countries implement the freedoms of conscience, speech, and assembly; and how questions of people's relationship with society and the law are resolved, along with questions of freedom of movement, contacts, and information. That is, everything that was part of the "third basket" at the Helsinki conference.

The Americans brought a huge team to Moscow. The two senators, nine congressmen, and three ranking administration members were accompanied by an impressive staff of advisers, consultants, experts, and technicians including a specially selected video cameramen and photographer from Washington. They had come to work in the way they were accustomed to at home. And they behaved as they would at home. Successful speeches by the legislators were greeted by the U.S. team with applause and whoops of approval. We were not used to this—after all, talks were under way. But the laws of hospitality are sacred—if that is their custom, well...

The guests did not tire of stating that they were pleasantly surprised both by their reception and by the tone of the discussion. They made no secret of the fact that they had anticipated and prepared for confrontation. When this was repeated for the fifth or sixth time, you even got the impression that they were counting on it. No, as far as externals went, the U.S. partners acted with good humor, responding freely to jokes and often cracking jokes themselves.

Was this friendliness solely part of the U.S. politicians' style? It undoubtedly is. But there were also certain changes in attitudes. From the opening to the closing speeches by S. Hoyer, leader of the U.S. delegation and chairman of the congressional commission, the Americans often repeated that they did not consider the human rights position in either the USSR or the United States to be ideal and were prepared to discuss any questions. In principle they did not avoid discussing questions raised by the Soviet side. Whether or not their answers were always realistic is another matter. But more of this later.

One other point. In the past the United States as a rule rejected proposals to discuss the state of affairs regarding socioeconomic rights in the United States. Now the congressmen were saying that human rights is a whole package which includes socioeconomic issues, and they responded to concerns expressed by the Soviet side.

So why was the current discussion generally nonconfrontational in comparison with the past? The main reason lies with restructuring and the changes in our country. We are becoming different and ridding ourselves of the legacies of the past. We react less touchily and sensitively to questions raised by the other side. We look at ourselves more realistically and self-critically. As B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, said during a session of one of the three working groups, "we criticize ourselves so sharply that it's risky for anybody else to compete with us—they might lose."

Many aspects of our life that were previously hidden from our own eyes and all the more from outsiders are becoming a sphere not just for glasnost and criticism but for resolute changes. Our side stated: "The process of the humanization of legislation is under way." This process covers the judicial reform that is under way and the work on a new criminal code. In particular, the question of excluding from the code Articles 190 (1) (the dissemination of deliberately false fabrications besmirching the Soviet state and social system) and 227 (incursions on individual and civil rights under the guise of the performance of religious ceremonies), and bringing Article 70 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) into line with the present-day situation in society is being resolved. That is, it is a question of those aspects of our legislation which most attracted the U.S. delegation. Moreover, the law on freedom of conscience, the law on the press, and the law on voluntary societies, organs of nonofficial social activity [organy obshchestvennoy samodeyatelnosti] and other nonofficial associations are at the development stage.

With regard to the emigration problem which has so occupied our partners, V.V. Zagladin, leader of the Soviet delegation, cited the following figures. In the first 9 months of this year 66,000 people emigrated from the USSR. This is eight times more than in 1986. And in terms of emigration to the United States, the figure is 28 times more. At the same time, as V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, stated, the Soviet side is legitimately concerned about the fate of the thousands of Soviet citizens who wish to be reunited with their relatives in the United States and have virtually lost all hope of obtaining a U.S. visa owing to the quotas imposed by the U.S. State Department.

This was one of the occasions when complaints about nonobservance of the Helsinki agreements were made against the U.S. side. Many complaints were made during the working group sessions. The question can, of course, be asked: Should we not bring firmer "pressure" to bear? In answering this question, we will try to define each side's ideas and strategy.

The U.S. congressmen strove to move the talks on to a discussion of specific, individual "cases" (although these matters are more successfully handled by experts). The Soviet deputies had a different aim: to calmly discuss concepts and existing problems, to talk about the processes of democratization in our country, and thereby to demonstrate that many of the Americans' complaints were obsolete and unjustified under the new conditions.

It should be said that the members of the U.S. commission showed a lively interest in what we are doing in this country. And they expressed understanding and even support in a number of cases for the measures we are carrying out. Senator D. DeConcini: "...The Soviet Union's new policy is encouraging." Congressman D. Ritter: "The changes now taking place in Soviet society are the most important step toward the establishment of lasting world peace since World War II." Ritter again: "Just 2 years ago it would have been simply inconceivable to raise these issues." Congressmen Edwards, Smith, Porter, LaFalce, Lewis, and Shaw and Senator Grassley all paid polite tribute to restructuring. And yet each time the compliments were invariably followed by accusations. We told them about the laws under preparation. They told us the names of those who, according to their information, had been refused emigration. We told them about the democratization process. They brought out the same old list. We told them about the need to rid the world of the nuclear threat (which in the given situation probably was a waste of time, admittedly). And they harped on about their lists again.

This showed the U.S. legislators' desire nonetheless to view the human rights problem as a "one-way street."

Take the problem of freedom of movement and contacts. In the Americans' opinion, the Soviet Union too often justifies its refusal to allow people to emigrate by stating that the persons in question had access to secret information. But is that not the case in America? During a meeting between the U.S. legislators and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation's Human Rights Commission Academician B.V. Raushenbakh recalled the following incident. A few years ago he sent an invitation to an American colleague from NASA. However, the recipient was prohibited from traveling to the Soviet Union for the same old reasons of secrecy.

"Well, that's NASA policy, not U.S. Administration policy," Congressman Hoyer responded. "We have no law banning departure for reasons of secrecy."

Yet in our country too the period during which restrictions are in force for reasons of secrecy are not enshrined in law but are laid down by departments. A law is needed in this area and is currently being drafted. Indeed, it is absurd if people are refused exit permission purely because they had access to technical secrets 25 years ago. During this period technology has moved from valves to microprocessors. But, we repeat, for the moment it is departments which have the power to determine restriction periods. And what is NASA? It too is a department.

And with regard to the fact that the United States does not have legislation restricting departure, Congressman S. Hoyer was not quite right. One can simply quote the Passports Act. It empowers the U.S. secretary of state to refuse or annul a passport if the activities of a given individual abroad are considered as "causing serious damage or being a probable cause of such to the national security or foreign policy of the United States." When it is a question of its own interests, Washington does not pay particular attention to the Helsinki "third basket."

We interviewed the leader of the U.S. delegation.

The interview began with our interviewee giving a lengthy explanation about how sensitive his voters, the U.S. President, Congress, and, of course, the entire American people are about observance of human rights worldwide. They are concerned above all about individual cases of violations of individual rights.

We asked:

[IZVESTIYA] Mr Hoyer, during your discussions you repeatedly mentioned that the commission you head closely monitors the human rights position not just outside the United States but in your country too. Could you quote some specific examples of your activities in this respect?

[Hoyer] Well, for instance, in the civil rights field commission members primarily conduct legislative work, promoting the adoption of laws which improve the position of the population in certain spheres of life.

[IZVESTIYA] Could you just quote a couple of examples of what the commission has done with regard to individual cases of violations of human rights in the United States—over the last 18 months or so, say.

[Hoyer] ...I don't know if I can recall anything just now...

[IZVESTIYA] Are there, in your opinion, any political prisoners in the United States?

[Hoyer] No. There are no political prisoners in the United States. I have said before and I say again now that I would be pleased to receive from the Soviet Government or from any Soviet citizen the names of people who, in their opinion, come under this category.

[IZVESTIYA] Mr Hoyer, here in front of you is the latest issue of the English-language newspaper MOSCOW NEWS. We didn't bring it along by accident. It publishes a letter from a compatriot of yours, Nancy Khorgen [surname as transliterated]. She is an attorney living in

Seattle, Washington. She writes that the United States has not just one or two but many political prisoners, particularly in the top-security penitentiary at Marion, Illinois and the federal penitentiary at Lexington, Kentucky. She quotes a whole string of names of "prisoners of conscience" languishing there, quoting Amnesty International, protocols of 1984-1985 congressional hearings, National Public Radio broadcasts, ABC-TV's 20/20 news analysis program, and CBS News. So please take a look, the relevant places have been marked.

We laid out the newspaper for the congressman:

[IZVESTIYA] Are you familiar with the names of these fellow citizens of yours?

[Hoyer] No, unfortunately they are not familiar...

[IZVESTIYA] Mr Hoyer, allow us then to give you this issue of MOSCOW NEWS and ask you to look into the cases of U.S. political prisoners on your return to the United States.

[Hoyer] I promise to do everything possible.

Judging by our interlocutor's reaction, this episode was in no way part of the scenario prepared by the U.S. delegation.

However, the Americans, in our view, stuck with their intended plan right to the end. During the discussions they handed a number of lists to our deputies. These contained names of people whose rights, in the opinion of the congressmen, are being infringed in our country. What are these lists? Even a superficial glance at them reveals a mass of inaccuracies and juggling with the facts.

Here are a few examples. The Americans' list of "political prisoners" includes a certain Nikolay Alekseyevich Valkov, born 1935. The article of the Criminal Code indicated is correct. In brackets the compilers of the list define it in their own way: "continuation of activity in defense of rights." But if they had inquired they would easily have realized that Article 117 has nothing to do with "politics." As we were told at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, Valkov had committed assaults on minors after being discharged from a psychiatric hospital. And under the 30 May 1988 ruling of the Kharkov Oblast Court he was sent for compulsory treatment since he was considered by the physicians to be not responsible for his actions.

To continue. Ilya Mikhaylovich Suslov. The Americans described him as having suffered because of meetings with foreigners and because of his relatives who had emigrated to Israel. What meetings, what relatives? Suslov was convicted for betraying the motherland in the form of espionage. The details of this case were the subject of a television film seen by virtually the entire Soviet population, and of a number of articles in our press.

These examples could be continued. The list drawn up by the Americans includes people who have done time for drug trafficking and speculation. So what then—are they all to be released just because some of them were also convicted under the aforesaid Articles 70 and 190 (1)?

The same applies to the list of persons waiting to emigrate. It includes people who have already emigrated, people who have withdrawn their applications, and those who have long held exit visas but are in no hurry to leave. This was stated at the final press conference. The Soviet side has promised to thoroughly examine all the remaining cases and give an answer within 30 days. Just as, incidentally, the U.S. side pledged to give answers within the same period to the questions put to it.

Yet it is a pity that the deputies had to waste time on problems of this sort. The participants in the seminar—and we hope this will be the case in future—could have dealt with other matters. In January the USSR Supreme Soviet sent the U.S. Congress a number of proposals—and our delegation repeated them—on what the two countries' parliamentarians could do together. Now, in our view, is a suitable time to implement these proposals. Why not hold joint hearings on some specific human rights problem in the United States and the USSR?

The U.S. legislators mainly supported these ideas. New ideas sprang up during the work, incidentally. Thus, the working group that discussed the subject of the relationship of people, society, and the law expressed an idea approved by both sides that it would be expedient to compare the two countries' human rights legislation.

There are results and results. From the American standpoint it may have been particularly important that they expressed their concerns and passed on their latest lists. This can go down as a political asset. But there was another result too. Perhaps less tangible, but it strikes us as the main result. There was a dialogue. On a problem where hitherto there had been no points of contact. Not everything is possible yet? No problem. We are only just starting. We will continue to learn about dialogue with each other. We will, and the Americans will.

China

Shevardnadze-Qian Qichen Talks Detailed

PM0212121588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] On 1 December Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister, arrived in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister.

Qian Qichen was greeted at the airport by E.A. Shevardnadze and other officials.

The head of the Chinese foreign policy department made a statement:

Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers have had numerous meetings in New York, where they held a useful dialogue on questions of normalizing relations between the two countries. During this visit I would like to continue the frank exchange of opinions with my Soviet colleagues on the Cambodian question so as to achieve fresh progress in this respect. In addition I believe that we are also going to discuss other questions of bilateral relations. I expect to meet with M.S. Gorbachev during my stay in Moscow.

The Chinese side invariably strives to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Traditional friendship exists between the Chinese and Soviet sides. China and the Soviet Union, as two great neighbors, must live in peace and good neighborliness. We are pleased that Chinese-Soviet relations have been gradually improving in recent years. I sincerely hope that this visit will end with the results expected.

In conclusion, Qian Qichen expressed feelings of deep respect to Muscovites and to all the Soviet people.

Talks began on 1 December between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Qian Qichen, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and PRC foreign minister, in Moscow on an official visit.

The meeting began with a one-on-one conversation between the ministers. Other participants in the talks then joined in.

E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out that important processes of economic change and political reform were under way both in the Soviet Union and China. Plans for the renewal of socialist society have been elaborated in both countries. In their policy, the USSR and the People's Republic of China opted for extensive international cooperation in the interests of resolving global problems facing mankind.

They attached special significance to the handling of the most acute problem of the survival, salvation of the civilization. Under these conditions, the campaign for peace and universal human values was becoming a matter of paramount importance. The national tasks of the two countries and the universal human tasks were thus closely interrelated.

The visit by the Chinese foreign minister marked the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations, Shevardnadze said. One can speak of a new quality in bilateral relations, if their current state is compared to the situation a few years ago. Great progress has been made but, as we understand it, neither Moscow nor Beijing are going to stop at what has been accomplished. They both believe that it is necessary to look into the future.

Qian agreed that qualitative changes had become visible in Soviet-Chinese relations. This was a result of the concerted efforts of China and the Soviet Union, a logical development of the two countries' relations over the past years. Indeed, a new stage has begun and it was necessary to move further.

The Chinese minister expressed confidence that his visit to the USSR would give a fresh impetus to Chinese-Soviet relations.

The ministers took note of the fact that the political dialogue between the two countries was marked by a constructive and frank character and a broader circle of issues discussed. Of great importance were the Soviet-Chinese political consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

Both sides expressed readiness to continue that mutually beneficial dialogue.

During their first meeting the ministers paid much attention to discussing a range of issues related to a Cambodian settlement. They held a thorough, substantive exchange of views that enabled each side to fully present its position.

It was noted that the Soviet Union and China are interested in the earliest fair and rational solution of that regional conflict. The productivity of the attitude when discussion proceeds from the viewpoint of the search for broadening the sphere of accord, the search for solutions that would be acceptable for all sides concerned was stressed.

The sides reaffirmed their intention to facilitate the solution of the external aspects of a Cambodian settlement on the understanding that internal aspects will be resolved as a results of contacts with the participation of all the Khmer sides.

The ministers agreed that issues of a Cambodian settlement will be discussed simultaneously in a special working group. The talks will be continued.

Kornilov Views 'Progress' in PRC Relations

PM0512150788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Political Observer Yuriy Kornilov under the rubric "View of Events": "The Soviet Union and the PRC: New Horizons"]

[Text] "I personally see the aim of the talks as being to promote the building of a full-scale Soviet-Chinese political dialogue, which is historically oriented toward friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between these two great socialist countries. And not only in the context of bilateral relations, but also in terms of other, international parameters. After all, the Soviet Union and the PRC are major world powers and permanent members of the UN Security Council and, in these capacities, are equally responsible for the solution of many important international problems." These words were spoken by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, in an interview with IZVESTIYA on the eve of the official visit to Moscow by Qian Qichen, head of the PRC foreign policy department. Today, in discussing the results of the Soviet-Chinese meetings and talks coming to a close in our capital, we can state with profound satisfaction that the aim spoken of by the minister is attainable.

In themselves the talks to which I am referring have drawn a great deal of attention from the international public and press. It goes without saying that foreign commentaries on this subject differ: Their tone and thrust are largely dependent on whose positions are reflected by the mass media body in question and which circles it is backed by. But if we highlight the main, basic thrust of all these reactions, we have every reason to say that the first official visit by a PRC foreign minister to Moscow in a very long time is regarded everywhere as an exceptionally important international event and convincing evidence of the desire and determination of these two great socialist powers—which build their relations on the principles of equality, mutual respect, independence, sovereignty, and consideration for each other's legitimate interests—to attain a new, higher level of political communication.

This is how it really is, and convincing evidence of this is the fact that a central place during the Moscow talks was given to the question of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. As is well known, speaking in Delhi on 19 November, M.S. Gorbachev said that such a meeting is obviously not a remote prospect. For their part, the Chinese leaders have said more than once that if the talks between the foreign ministers are successful, M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping will possibly meet in Beijing in the first half of next year. Now, with the completion of Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow, I feel we can say that preparations for a summit meeting have been set on a practical footing. Is there any need to point out that this meeting, which will be one of the most important events on the 1989 political calendar, will undoubtedly have a very positive impact—not only on the state and prospects of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations but also on the political atmosphere in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole?

The improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations is an inalienable part of the process of the general improvement in the international climate, the strengthening of security, and the broadening and deepening of cooperation between states in the solution of mankind's global problems. In this respect, we should particularly note the importance and fruitfulness of the current Soviet-Chinese dialogue on such major topical problems as confidence-building measures and military detente in the Asia-Pacific region and the reduction of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border. We in Moscow take satisfaction in noting that Beijing has worthily appraised such a serious step forward in the task of curbing the arms race as the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has opened up prospects for breaking out of the vicious circle of strong-arm games. The Chinese side has also positively appraised the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which undoubtedly strengthens the basis for developing cooperation. The Soviet side is convinced of the importance of the idea of convening an international conference on Afghanistan—an idea that represents a fundamentally new step in the whole Afghan situation and that makes it possible to consider various aspects of the situation surrounding this country on a broad international basis.

The USSR respects PRC foreign policy, working on the basis that both our states are interested in detente and in strengthening universal peace and security. And although, being realistic, we cannot say today that the Soviet and Chinese positions and views on all international problems are identical, the determining trend of the time is not, of course, the existence of different approaches on the part of the two countries to problems of concern to them but rather their mutual desire and endeavor to seek and find "points of contact" through serious, constructive dialogue. It goes without saying that this quest is sometimes a difficult, complex process, although life and the course of events show that, given the mutual political will, mutually acceptable solutions can—and therefore must—be gradually reached, step by step. The discussion of such an urgent problem as a settlement of the situation surrounding Cambodia can serve as graphic confirmation of this. A difficult question? Yes, of course. However, the extent of mutual understanding has been appreciably increased in the course of the dialogue. The sides have confirmed their intention to promote the solution of the external aspects of a Cambodian settlement, on the understanding that the internal aspects will be resolved as a result of contacts, with the participation of all Khmer parties.

The "political background" against which the Soviet-Chinese talks have been held is both important and significant. In a situation where we can see a gradual improvement in the international atmosphere and where the ideas of the new political thinking are becoming increasingly attractive, the majority of states in the world, including countries in the vast Asia-Pacific region, are displaying a growing desire to play a more active role in international affairs. This region is looking for ways to strengthen security and stability—primarily by political means, at the negotiating table. Broad support has been given to the extensive Soviet initiatives proposed by our country in the well-known "Vladivostok program," in M.S. Gorbachev's interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, and in his September speech in Krasnoyarsk. Of particular relevance, as the press has stressed, is the Soviet Union's idea to create a negotiating mechanism for discussing problems relating to security in the Asia-Pacific region and also its proposal to conclude an agreement to prevent incidents on the open sea and in the airspace above. There is no doubt that the progress and results of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue are fully consonant with the clearly expressed desire of peoples in this region and the rest of the world to strengthen peace and security, and that these will serve as an important incentive to consolidate these positive trends.

And what broad scope for cooperation and the mutually useful exchange of experience is opening up before our socialist countries as a result of the powerful processes of renewal taking place in them! A Soviet-Chinese commission for economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation has been in operation for just over 3 years, and already we can note with satisfaction the steady growth in trade, broader scientific and technical ties, and more active cooperation in the sphere of education. We would remind you in this connection that 495 enterprises from 18 provinces in the PRC now supply goods to the Soviet Union. The USSR is ready for closer economic collaboration with China, particularly in the regions of Siberia and the Far East. It should be noted, in particular, that the reforms of the economic mechanism and political system under way in the PRC are a source of great interest to the Soviet people. For its part, the Chinese public pays no less attention to the progress of our own restructuring. While in China, the people I spoke to often said how important it is for us to adopt everything of the greatest value from one another which is engendered by the practice and experience of reform. How true! Although—and, again, this point was made by many of the Chinese people I spoke to—this adoption cannot be something mechanical, as the specific conditions and many methods of reform in the USSR and the PRC differ from one another.

Although there would seem to be no doubt that the process of Soviet-Chinese rapprochement is fully consonant with the positive trends that now characterize the international situation, this process nevertheless is not to everyone's liking. Some Western capitals are asking the question: Will this rapprochement not perhaps be achieved "to the detriment of the West"? The Soviet Union has made it very plain on more than one occasion that the time of creating various political "triangles," "quadrangles," and sundry other geometrical configurations, the engineers of which have implied that any improvement in relations between some states must inevitably lead to political losses for others, is irrevocably past; the strengthening of Soviet-Chinese ties and contacts is being and will continue to be implemented on a basis which does not affect the interests of third countries in any way. And what does Beijing think about this? Let us lend an ear to the authoritative Chinese sociopolitical weekly LIAOWANG. Stating that these conjectures have absolutely no foundation, the journal writes: "Now, when the long struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States is abating and when dialogue is coming to replace confrontation, it is hard to even suppose that China could play into the hands of one side and act against another...."

The conclusion? It is obvious: The period of estrangement between Moscow and Beijing belongs to the past, points of contact between the two neighboring countries and peoples are increasing in number, and their relations are becoming increasingly filled with sincere amicability and trust. The Soviet Union and China are in favor of the full normalization of their relations and the development of these relations to a level appropriate to our two states' responsibility for world politics.

West 'Fears' Normalized Soviet Ties With PRC

LD0412203988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1251 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—TASS political observer Mikhail Yakovlev writes:

Talks in Moscow between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit, ended on 3 December. Both the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the head of the Chinese foreign policy department, and the results of the Soviet-Chinese talks, demonstrate the beginning of a new stage in relations between the two countries and their new quality compared with the recent past. The recent alienation is giving way to a political dialogue between them which is today distinguished by its constructive and open character, and the joint aspirations to search for ways to expand the sphere of agreement. [passage omitted]

It can be firmly stated that Soviet-Chinese relations have started off firmly on the way toward their complete normalization. Moscow, and to judge from the statements of the Chinese leaders, Beijing, see no reason why the Soviet Union and China should not bring the development of their ties onto a normal course. New relations are being built between the USSR and PRC today—relations of neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation in the spirit of traditional friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The atmosphere of trust and the common observance of the principles of mutual respect for the interests, views, experience, and practice of the other side is asserting itself more and more in them.

However, this development of Soviet-Chinese relations is not to everyone's taste. Fears are being expressed in the West to the effect that a complete normalization of relations between the USSR and PRC might lead to encroachments on Western interests. These are empty conjectures. Their authors are living according to old ideas, and evidently, the new winds in international relations do not suit them. The Soviet Union aspires to the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, not at the expense of third countries, and including countries of the Asia-Pacific region. M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his conversation with Qian Qichen that the Soviet Union has no intention of encroaching on anyone's interests in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet Union has an open and honest policy, following aims that are in the interest of all states. The Chinese leaders have a similar position. [passage omitted]

Summit With PRC To Discuss Party Relations

OW0612103288 Tokyo KYODO in English 1001 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 6 KYODO—A Soviet academician said Monday normalization of relations between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties will be one of the main agenda items for a Sino-Soviet summit meeting slated for the first half of next year.

In an interview with KYODO News Service, Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Far East, also said papers stipulating new relations between the two countries are expected to be signed at the summit.

State relations between the Soviet Union and China have been improving in recent years but party relations have remained severed since the 1960s.

Titarenko said there are now no ideological conflicts between the Soviet Union and China.

Titarenko praised the recent Sino-Soviet foreign ministerial talks held here, saying they have deepened mutual understanding of the principles of peaceful coexistence between the countries.

He said domestic reforms being promoted by the two countries are contributing to the normalization of relations and that the reforms in each are affecting the other.

Titarenko also said the summit meeting will discuss the international situation in general as well as reforms underway in socialist countries and other themes.

However, an exchange of opinion on the experience and lessons of reform in the two countries will be dominant in the summit meeting, Titarenko said.

He added that the meeting between senior Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, a veteran in the international Communist movement, and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, a new leader, will be interesting.

Trade With China 'Increasingly Brisk'

LD0112102188 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By TASS economic commentator Sergey Zinchuk:

Commercial and economic contacts between the Soviet Union and China are increasing, business quarters note.

Despite a decline in bilateral trade last year, there is an increasingly stable trend of growth in commercial exchanges between the two countries.

According to Soviet Ministry for External Economic Relations preliminary estimates, for example, Soviet-Chinese trade will increase again this year.

Products involved in bilateral trade range all the way from machines, equipment and transportation vehicles to farm produce and consumer goods.

Many Chinese textile, household and other goods are popular with Soviet customers.

Large-scale joint economic projects, especially in the fuel and power industries, are becoming more common.

Soviet organizations, for instance, are involved in the construction of two coal dressing factories in China, each capable of producing 1.8 million tonnes of coal a year. Contracts for supplies of Soviet equipment for one of them will be fulfilled completely this year.

Cooperation deals were recently signed to build and equip two thermal power stations in China. One, in the area of Nanjing, will have two Soviet-made 300-megawatt generating systems and the other, in the area of Jixian, will have two 500-megawatt units.

Talks are under way on a third such station with two 300-megawatt turbines.

Frontier trade is also increasing and, considering the length of the border between the two countries, has good prospects.

Several joint ventures are being contemplated as part of this form of business cooperation. These include, among others, a pulp-and-paper mill and farms in the Soviet Far East.

Chinese farmers are already growing vegetables and gourds at the Baranovsky farm there. Sixty per cent of the produce are left with the Soviet side, while the rest goes to China.

Soviet and Chinese cooperatives are forming contacts, including direct arrangements, as well. A short time ago a protocol of intent to establish such a relationship was signed between the Moscow region union of consumer co-ops and cooperatives in Guangdong Province.

As Soviet-Chinese economic contacts increase, the sides are keen to cooperate also in resolving financial issues. A relevant agreement was signed in Moscow last October between the Soviet bank for foreign economic activities and the Bank of China.

An important role in ironing out various problems is played also by the bilateral commission on economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation, whose third session was held in Beijing last June.

On the whole, it appears obvious that increasingly brisk business relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China are a positive factor which can exert tangible influence on the development of relations between the two neighbouring powers.

'Ruslan' Transport Plane Exhibited in PRC

LD0112222288 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—An-124—"Ruslan", a transport plane with a very large lifting capacity, designed at the Antonov office flew from Moscow for the international air show in Shanghai today.

Some 50 biggest aircraft firms of many countries will take part in the air show in China. The Soviet display with include "Ruslan" transport plane and Ka-32 helicopter which will be brought to Shanghai in the freight compartment of the jumbo plane. Visitors will be able for the first time to familiarise themselves with the equipment of new jet airliners Il-96 and Tu-204.

Northeast Asia

Agreement Signed With ROK Trade Association

LD0212230088 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Possibilities for developing business contacts between Soviet foreign trade organizations and South Korean companies are under discussion here at the current talks between delegations of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI) and South Korea's Korean Trade Promotion Association (KOTPA).

The KOTPA delegation is led by the association's President Yi Song-ki.

The first day of the talks ended with the signing of an agreement on cooperation between CCI and KOTPA. The agreement envisages the establishment of exchanges of economic information on a reciprocal basis, the holding of fairs and specialised exhibitions, seminars and symposiums on economic subjects, assistance in the implementation of various economic, scientific and technical projects, and the opening of the offices of the two organizations in Moscow and Seoul.

The KOTPA Delegation is to complete its visit on December 4.

Earlier KOTPA had signed such agreemewnts with the chambers of commerce of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Bulgaria.

Japanese Role in SDI Projects Condemned

PM0112170788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report followed by S. Volovets commentary under the general heading: "Against the Peaceful Tide in the Pacific"]

[Text] Tokyo, 28 Nov—Nine of the biggest Japanese corporations, which received an order from the U.S. Defense Department to fulfill work within the SDI framework, are starting on the first stage of research into setting up an ABM defense for the Western Pacific (WestPac). According to its authors' intentions, the area of defense must include territory from the Aleutian Islands in the north of the region to Micronesia in the south. During the coming year it is proposed to spend $3 million for this purpose.

As the NIHON KEIZAI newspaper reports today, talks on the form of participation by Japanese companies in the "Star Wars" programs have continued actively since the beginning of this year. As a result, such "leviathans" of local industry as Mitsubishi, Kawasaki, Nihon Denki, Fujitsu, and a number of others obtained a "contract" to carry out research. Immediately after the impending official signing of the documents on 2 December, the U.S. Defense Department will place at their disposal data for assessing "the degree of danger in the Western Pacific."

The Japanese Government adopted the decision to join in the U.S. SDI in July 1987. The National Defense Agency started to formulate a special concept for the defense of the Western Pacific. The military preparations, which embrace a vast area of the Asia-Pacific region, the MAINICHI newspaper indicates, signify a divergence from the fundamental principle of "defensive sufficiency," to which Japan had adhered up until the present, and are a direct violation of the country's Constitution, which forbids participation in collective combat actions.

Our Commentary

International news agencies have reported that Japanese industrial companies are starting work connected with implementing the U.S. SDI. This is being done in accordance with the Japanese-U.S. agreement signed in Washington in the summer of last year. Inasmuch as the SDI program from the very beginning stirred up strong opposition not only in the United States itself but among its allies, the U.S. Government considered it politically advantageous to involve them in the implementation of the program, using mainly economic inducements.

In reality, the U.S. plans are much broader. Involving Japanese (as well as West European) companies in the planning and design work is just the first step. One of the leaders of the "High Frontier" organization, which is an international advocate of SDI, said that ultimately it is a question of two levels—one for the United States, and another for West Europe, Africa, the Near East, and the Pacific. "The combination of these diverse systems," he said, "will lead to the creation of a genuine world defense system."

But this is a matter for the very distant future (moreover, the SDI supporters' global plans are unlikely to materialize.) But today the involvement of Japanese industrial companies in U.S. military programs could complicate the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. It is well known that the Far East is now a region where the level of military activity, the concentration of nuclear weapons, and the degree of confrontation are already great enough.

Since the beginning of the 1980's U.S. sea-based nuclear power has grown constantly in this region. It was precisely here that the deployment of the Ohio-class nuclear submarine armed with Trident missiles was begun. U.S. Pacific Fleet warships are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles with a range of 2,500 km. What is worst of all, according to Japanese press reports, is that Tokyo is accepting the use of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Pacific "should Japan get into a desperate situation." What kind of situation is that, and who is going to decide how "desperate" it is?

It is clear that the political drawbacks and dangers are not comparable with the commercial gains which the U.S. military clients are promising the Japanese industrialists. But these gains are also extremely dubious. According to reports by the same Japanese press, the results of the joint research belong to the U.S. Government, which is financing the research.

The idea that the latest technology obtained as a result of the research can be used profitably in civilian sectors is being used as an inducement. But in all such agreements the U.S. Government has included a point which says that it has the right to limit such use for security reasons.

Now let us recall the recent episode concerning the Toshiba company, which was penalized by the U.S. and Japanese Governments because it exported totally innocuous equipment to socialist countries.

It can be said that the United States is not only using Japan's scientific and technical potential for its own military programs, but that at the same time it will be able to cause notable damage to the competitiveness of its economic rival in world markets.

A businesslike discussion is currently under way in many countries in the region about the Soviet peace initiatives for the Asia-Pacific region put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech. They provide an opportunity to resolve many complex problems, reduce the level of armed opposition, and develop mutually advantageous cooperation.

Japan's participation in SDI work runs counter to the opportunities that are opening up.

Japan Socialist Delegation's Visit Described

PM3011171988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of party press workers from the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] headed by M. Takagi, member of the JSP Central Executive Committee and chief of the JSP Central Executive Committee Press Organ Bureau, visited the Soviet Union 22 through 29 November at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, visited the CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and had talks at the editorial offices of PRAVDA, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, and OGONEK and at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute.

The delegation paid a visit to the Georgian SSR. At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and at the editorial office of the newspaper KOMMUNIST the guests were briefed on the work of the republic party organization in conditions of economic reform, democratization, and glasnost. The guests visited a number of cooperatives and acquainted themselves with the republic's cultural life. The representatives of the Japanese Socialists expressed satisfaction at being able to acquaint themselves with the large-scale changes in the Soviet Union and wished the Soviet people success in the implementation of restructuring.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Minister Says SRV Willing To Join ASEAN

PM0512113388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "In a Spirit of Goodneighborliness"]

[Text] Hanoi, 1 Dec—The Vietnamese people are doing everything in their power to contribute, along with the Philippine people and other Southeast Asian countries, to the peaceful resolution of disputes in the region, including the Cambodia problem, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, stated on receiving Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus, who was on an official friendly visit to the SRV.

Vietnam and the Philippines are neighbors, Nguyen Van Linh said. They enjoy all the conditions for developing friendship and cooperation for the good of both countries. "The Vietnamese people hope that ASEAN can be expanded on the basis of the new relations in the region, and Vietnam is prepared to join this organization on an equal footing with other countries."

Rogachev Received by Cambodian Foreign Minister

LD2811121388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1053 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Phnom Penh, 28 Nov (TASS)—Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, has received Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister. They discussed certain matters pertaining to Soviet-Cambodian cooperation as well as international problems.

Both sides noted the important positive shifts in the process of achieving a Cambodian settlement and the reinforcement of the PRK's positions in the international arena. They emphasized the need to further step up efforts to resolve the conflict by political means and to create reliable guarantees to prevent the genocidal regime's return to power in the country. They also emphasized the need to ensure conditions for constructing a peaceful, neutral, independent, and nonaligned Cambodia.

The Soviet side placed a high value on the PRK's practical steps in implementing a policy of national reconciliation and organizing dialogue between the Khmer groupings. The Soviet side also welcomed the results of the informal meeting in Jakarta and voiced support for the further development of this process.

In the opinion of those taking part in the conversation, it is important that all sides concerned approach the issues of a settlement around Cambodia realistically, taking into account the interests of the Cambodian people. It was noted that the Nonaligned Movement, among others, could play a substantial role in normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia.

Taking part in the conversation was Rashit Khamidulin, USSR ambassador to the PRK.

Soviet-Cambodian consultations took place at the PRK Foreign Ministry between I.A. Rogachev and Dit Munti, PRK first deputy foreign minister.

Rogachev Meets Burmese Ambassador in Moscow

BK0112071588 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese 0630 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Mr Rogachev, deputy Soviet foreign minister, on Tuesday met and consulted with U Tin Tun, ambassador of the Republic of the Union of Burma to the USSR, in connection with the presentation of his credentials, which will take place soon.

13th Anniversary of Lao Independence Celebrated

Gusev, Pallayev Attend Meeting

PM0512125788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Public Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 13th anniversary of Lao independence was held in Moscow 1 December.

A report was delivered by V.P. Maslin, chairman of the Soviet-Lao Friendship Society Central Board.

A reply speech was delivered by Bouathong, head of the Lao-Soviet Friendship Society, chairman of its Central Board, and member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee.

G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations took part in the meeting.

K. Phanvongsa, Lao ambassador to the Soviet Union, was present.

Yazov Sends Greetings

PM0212155988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov anniversary greetings message to Lao counterpart]

[Text] To Lao Defense Minister Army General Comrade Khamtai Siphandon.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally, I cordially congratulate you and all Lao People's Army servicemen on your national holiday—the 13th anniversary of the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Soviet servicemen value highly the fraternal relations that have taken shape between our countries and armed forces. We are sure that the courageous and industrious

Lao people will win new victories in building the foundations of socialism while selflessly implementing the decisions of the fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party congress. The Lao People's Army reliably protects peaceful constructive work.

I wish Lao People's Army personnel further successes in improving combat skill for the sake of strengthening their motherland's defense capability.

With communist greetings,

USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Meets With 'Afghan Opposition'

LD0612072388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Cairo, 6 Dec (TASS)—By agreement with Afghan President Najibullah, Yu.M. Vorontsov, first deputy USSR foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, has met with a delegation of the Afghan opposition (the "Alliance of Seven"), headed by B. Rabbani, in Al-Ta'if in Saudi Arabia.

The Soviet side strove to use these meetings and conversations to impart a further impulse to the Afghan settlement, primarily in ending the war, restoring peace in Afghanistan, and forming a broad-based government in that country.

During the talks, the Soviet side particularly singled out the issue of returning to their homeland the Soviet servicemen who ended up in the hands of the Afghan opposition.

The sides agreed to continue the talks in Islamabad. The time of the new meeting will be agreed on later.

During his stay in Saudi Arabia, Vorontsov was received in the state's capital, Riyadh, by King Fahd. During a conversation Vorontsov thanked the Saudi Arabian Government, especially for its constructive peacemaking activities, which found their expression in organizing the Al-Ta'if meeting.

Progress Reported in Talks

PM0612103688 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 5 Dec 88 p 1

[Jamal Khashuqji and 'Adnan Ibrahim report: "Progress in Afghan-Soviet Talks in Al-Ta'if"]

[Excerpt] Al-Ta'if, Peshawar— The talks between the Afghan mujahidin delegation headed by Afghan Mujahidin Islamic Alliance Chairman Burhanuddin Rabbani and the Soviet delegation headed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Vorontsov resumed in Al-Ta'if yesterday. Various issues related to the situation in Afghanistan were discussed during the 2 and ½ hour meeting.

An informed Afghan mujahidin source told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the talks covered important topics and that some progress was made. He added that because of what he described as progress in the talks he did not rule out their early conclusion.

The Afghan mujahidin alliance, which has its headquarters in Peshawar in Pakistan, issued a statement reaffirming demands for the Soviets to pay compensation for war losses, the clearing of mines from combat areas, and the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces. [passage omitted]

Commentator Views Dialogue

LD0512150488 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Mikhail Mayorov commentary]

[Text] Talks are under way in the Saudi town of Ta'if between the Soviet deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, Yuliy Vorontsov, and officials of the Afghan opposition forces based in Peshawar on the territory of Pakistan. For some Western analysts, that was the pretext to discuss once again who is the actual winner in Afghanistan in the 8 years of the conflict there. Now a comment from Mikhail Mayorov, who writes the following.

As I see it, the political dialogue, a sober, realistic approach, and a drive for compromise are what can ultimately take the upper hand if Moscow's and Kabul's efforts for a settlement of the conflict bear fruit. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have emphasized again and again that they are ready for constructive, equal talks with any party that wishes to have reconciliation and national accord in Afghanistan. This is the spirit of the Geneva accords on a settlement.

Another important fact is these are not any sort of separate talks which the Soviet leadership has decided on without the knowledge of the Afghan Government. As President Najibullah of Afghanistan has stressed, in an interview for the BAKHTAR news agency, the talks in Al-Ta'if have been coordinated with Kabul. Their purpose is to find ways for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and full action on the Geneva accords. Another point also shows that this is not an isolated action. The Afghan leadership too has stepped up efforts to establish contacts with the groupings of opposition units that operate inside the country.

Another step in this direction is the proposed international conference on Afghanistan. The idea to hold it was advanced by Dr Najibullah. It has won broad support in the Soviet Union. As it becomes clear from the Soviet

Foreign Ministry statement issued a few days ago, Moscow regards it as essential to have actual work done to hold the conference as quickly as possible. The participants could concentrate on issues of neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan. In short, the fratricidal conflict must be ended with victory to be scored for good will and a political solution.

Ma‘sud 'Subversive Gang' Discovered in Kabul

LD0512221588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Afghanistan's state security bodies have uncovered an unusual subversive gang in Kabul. Our correspondent in Afghanistan, Mikhail Leshchinskiy, reports:

[Leschinskiy] I had occasion to be present at the arrest of these people. They were seized in a mud-built private house where all four had rented a poor little room. During the search no weapons or ammunition were found on them or in the house. There were no large sums of money, narcotics, radio transmitters, or other things terrorists normally have with them. [passage indistinct] They just did not look like the kind of fighters who infiltrate the capital. All four are elderly, gray-bearded, and dressed like the poorest peasants. That is, in fact, what they turned out to be be. These people had found their way to Kabul from the Panjshir Valley on the orders of Ahmad Shah Mas‘ud, the local leader of armed opposition detachments. They also had been supplied with weaponry; invisible, it is true, but no less effective for that. They were to have spread rumors, sow panic, and circulate information discrediting the Kabul authorities. In view of these aims, the gang had been selected carefully, in keeping with the task. Old men enjoy special respect in the East. What they say is believed. So they walked about the bazaars, mosques, and slums of the city. What did the gray beards talk about? This became clear from the very first interrogation.

After each rocket attack on Kabul, the arrested men said, we tried to convince people that this was being done by Afghan and Soviet troops and certainly not by the mujahidin, who wish the people good and liberty. We called on people to leave the city, not to believe the authorities, to do everything to help our brothers who soon would assume power in Kabul.

I wondered if they themselves believed in this. Reaction varied. Two of them were silent and two said firmly that they did not believe, but they had no choice. In the Panjshir, they had big families, their sons were serving Ahmad Shah, fighting against the state, so how can you refuse? The people of those parts are frightened; they live in poverty, but do they know about the national reconciliation policy, about the efforts of the central authorities to halt the war? They know little, was the answer. People are frightened even to think about that, let alone talk about it.

Behind this kind of event lie many of the complexities of today's life in Afghanistan. It remains only to add that the activity of this gang was reported by the townspeople themselves, who in this case did not believe even the noble gray hairs of the provocateurs.

TASS Rounds Up Rebel Activities in Afghanistan

LD0212124688 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 2 TASS—Having concentrated large forces in the eastern province of Nangarhar, rebel Afghan units, subordinated to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) and to another organisation bearing the same name and headed by Yunis Khalis, have resumed hostilities against government troops there. A more than 20,000-strong rebel force, backed by twelve hundred Pakistani militiamen, has captured the frontier point of Towr Kham, again blocking the Towr Kham-Jalalabad road, and is now battling at the approaches to this provincial centre.

Afghan Army units are successfully beating off extremist attacks on the approaches to Jalalabad. Yesterday they dealt blows at rebel forces in other districts of the province. Twenty extremists were killed in Kuz Konar District, including an American adviser. According to BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY, the irreconcilable opposition plans to seize control of major roads leading to Kabul thereby cutting it off from food and comodities supplies. This is borne out also by the stepped up activity of extremists on the Salang-Pass road, where they are robbing private and state-owned vehicles, trying to capture security posts.

A complicated situation persists practically in all the provinces of Afghanistan. Over five thousand rebels have been concentrated in Laghman for the purpose of launching an offensive on the town of Mehtarlam. They are now shelling provincial localities, causing casualties among the peaceful population. A large unit, subordinated to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" succeeded in surrounding the administrative centre of Badakhshan Province—Feyzabad. However, the insurgents that broke into the town were wiped out by units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and State Security. Rebel concentrations have been noted in Nimruz and Farah Provinces where ever new armed groups are arriving from Pakistan.

Government troops have inflicted telling blows on the enemy in Qandahar, Farah, Paktia and Kabul Provinces, where the opposition lost some fifty men killed and wounded during the past 24 hours. The extremists have suffered heavy losses from government Army artillery assaults and air raids in the suburbs of Qalat, Zabol Province. They were forced to lift the siege of Qalat, where life is now returning to normal. Fearing new blows, the rebels are scattering their arms depots in the border areas. The opposition units, operating in Khowst District, have even moved them over to Pakistani territory.

Fierce clashes are occurring at present in serveral provinces between different factions of the opposition, mainly between the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan". Such clashes in Shindand District of Herat Province and at Mir Bacheh Kowt, Kabul Province, have taken a toll of 35 extremsits killed and wounded. Fighting is continuing between groups of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and Shi'ite anti-government formations in Ghazni Province.

Afghan Government Forces' Activities Viewed

LD0112085088 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 1 TASS—A 200-strong group in Afghan Jowzjan Province has broken with the armed opposition to join the process of national reconciliation.

More than 200 Afghan refugees on Tuesday returned to Herat province from Iran.

Afghan Army units yesterday carried out a number of operations to rout armed opposition gangs.

Extremists lost several dozen men killed in the area of Takhteh Pol in Qandahar Province, BAKHTAR news agency reported. A large amount of ammunition and four caches belonging to the rebels were destroyed.

Fighting took place also in Badakhshan, Faryab and Nangarhar Provinces and a number of other areas and the extremists suffered heavy losses there. Those killed included two Arab military advisers.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry, in the meantime, has handed the U.N. mission in Kabul the 133rd note citing further Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Military Training Center Opens in Kabul

LD0112091488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] A military training center for young people has opened in Kabul. Our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy was present at the ceremony.

[Leshchinskiy] The establishment of a center to prepare young people for service in the army seems topical. The exterior of this complex, which was built with a great deal of assistance from our Army, is reminiscent of Soviet schools for voluntary collaboration with the Army, Air Force, and Navy which are so familiar to everyone. Preference has been given to training servicemen with technical professions. Classrooms are equipped for signallers, artillerymen, and driver-mechanics. This specialization is very important because technically the Afghan Army is well-equipped. However, there is a shortage of competent personnel. The center has a shooting range, sports facilities, and an obstacle course. On open ground are models of modern air force and land-based machinery. Undoubtedly, during this present turning point for Afghanistan, the Armed Forces remain its support and hope.

With half the Soviet military contingent withdrawn from the country, the Afghan Army has had to operate in exceptionally complex conditions, to carry out combat-security tasks in the areas which used to be under the authority of our troops, to conduct combat actions against armed formations of the opposition, in most cases by themselves. This has not been free of setbacks and the losses of some provinces. Alarming factors remain, such as poor conscription into the Army and the growing number of deserters. However, there are examples of another kind.

The units and subunits in the southern province of Qandahar are standing firm. They recently managed to thward an armed coup attempt. The insurgents were forced to retreat from the northern provincial center of Konduz. Their attempted wide offensive has also been defeated in the east, in the direction of Jalalabad.

In general, the young Afghans who will emerge from the new military training center will have both difficulties and problems in their future military life, as well as examples worth following.

Pakistani Envoy Meets POW Release Delegation

PM0112155388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[N. Shatilova report: "Call For Humanism"]

[Text] Moscow—Abdul Sattar, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the USSR, has received a delegation of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Held Captive in Afghanistan. On behalf of the Coordinating Committee and the International Committee to Rescue Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, he was handed an appeal to the country's new leadership containing a call for assistance in finding the missing men and returning to the motherland the Soviet servicemen held captive by the Afghan opposition.

The appeal points out that the active mediation of Pakistan and the Pakistani public and their facilitation of contacts with leaders of the armed Afghan opposition could make an appreciable contribution to the cause of realizing the Geneva agreements and serve a future settlement around Afghanistan.

The representatives of the Coordinating Committee who visited the Pakistani Embassy expressed the hope that the Islamic Republic's new leadership will show goodwill and respond to the Soviet people's call for humanism, goodness, and humanity.

There was an informal exchange of opinions on this question, in the course of which both sides emphasized the importance of the speediest resolution of the prisoner problem—which would make a positive contribution to normalizing the situation in Afghanistan. On behalf of his government, the Pakistani ambassador expressed understanding for the Soviet public's concern and anxiety as to the fate of their fellow citizens and gave an assurance that all available possibilities will be utilized to assist the activity of the Coordinating Committee and its representatives.

Bhutto on Relations with Afghanistan, Moscow

LD0412233188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 4 Dec 88

["International Diary" program presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Excerpts] As is reported from Islamabad, the Pakistani Cabinet of Ministers has been sworn in. [passage omitted] Speaking in Rawalpindi at her first news conference as head of government, Benazir Bhutto broached a wide range of international and domestic problems. Speaking in particular about Pakistani-Afghan relations, she said that she hoped for the possibility of a representative government in Afghanistan securing stability there, so that the 3 million refugees could return home. One journalist asked Bhutto what her government was specifically going to do in order to solve the Afghan problem as soon as possible. She replied that the policy of Pakistan toward Afghanistan remains invariable. We hope that everything will proceed smoothly. Bhutto said that as the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan she also expects an improvement in Pakistan-Soviet relations. [passage omitted]

TASS Cites Gandhi Interview on Gorbachev, PRC

LD0212022588 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] New Delhi December 1 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in an interview with UNI news agency, released here, spoke highly of the initiatives advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and aimed at promoting greater mutual understanding and cooperation among nations.

'We are today witnessing significant changes in the international environment. There is a growing realization of the need to make new beginnings in putting an end to the rivalries, tensions and suspicions that had characterised international relations in the post-Second World War period. I think President Gorbachev's contribution in this regard has been significant and indeed unique. Soviet moves towards improving relations with the United States, Japan and China should be seen in this context.'

'On our part we have consistently worked for the reduction of tensions and the promotion of peace, understanding and cooperation. It is in keeping with this policy that we are working for an improvement in the climate of our bilateral relations with China,' the prime minister said.

On his forthcoming visit to China, Gandhi said that it was 'primarily to see that in future our bilateral relations are characterised by a spirit of mutual regard and understanding. This would naturally go side by side with efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the border issue.'

The prime minister expressed the hope that with a government elected by the people in place in Islamabad, it would be possible for India and Pakistan to improve their relations.

Iran Economic Cooperation Commission Meets

LD0512212688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec (TASS)—The more important spheres of business relations—construction, power engineering, ferrous metallurgy, machine-building, the utilization of water resources, and fisheries—such are the topics in the work of the 11th meeting of the intergovermental commission on economic cooperation between the USSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which began here today. For the first time, USSR Railways Minister Nikolay Konarev acted as chairman of the Soviet section. The Iranian delegation is headed by Economy and Finance Minister Mohammad Javad Iravani.

Among the priority issues is bringing Iran's Esfahan metallurgical combine, which is being equipped with Soviet assistance, up to its design capacity of 9 million tons of steel power per year. This work has become a symbol of the goodneighborly relations between the two countries, Mohammad Iravani said.

A new stage in the development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation is opening up now. This is facilitated, in Nikolay Konarev's view, by the reform and activation of the USSR's system of foreign economic relations, which is being implemented now.

The resumption of purchases of Iranian natural gas and the carrying out of joint work to prospect for and erect facilities for oil and gas deposits may create a solid basis for cooperation. The head of the Soviet delegation also advocated the resumption of direct rail communications between Moscow and Tehran.

Among other matters which it is possible to discuss at the current meeting and prepare for the 12th, Nikolay Konarev named such new forms of interaction as the training of cadres, border trade, the study of the problems of the Caspian sea, and the setting up of joint enterprises.

The head of the Iranian delegation expressed the desire for a significant increase in trade turnover between the two countries, which of late has made up only $200-300 million.

'Arafat Thanks Party, Government for Support
PM0212153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Message From Y. 'Arafat"]

[Text] Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has sent a message to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in connection with the results of the recent 19th extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council (PNC).

On behalf of all the Palestinian people and the PLO Executive Committee and from himself personally, Y. 'Arafat expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and the Soviet peoples for their support of the Palestinian people's struggle for their inalienable national rights and for their recognition of the proclamation of the independence of the Palestinian state. This stand taken by the Soviet Union, the message stressed, personifies its respect for freedom of choice and the strength of the relations of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Palestinian peoples.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union, the message noted, contributes to efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just peace in the Near East by convening an international conference.

East Europe

Walesa-Miodowicz Television Dialogue Viewed
PM0612090188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Concerning the First Television Duel"]

[Text] Warsaw—The meeting, which was "intimate and face-to-face but in front of millions of television viewers," was scheduled for 30 November.

The initiator of the television debate was Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ], who, in answering questions from TRYBUNA LUDU, proposed to Lech Walesa, the Gdansk opposition leader, that they meet one-on-one, without advisers, in Polish television's Warsaw studio and tell the public what each of them thinks about the trade unions' future and program. "We have our own program," the OPZZ chairman said.

L. Walesa reported (not directly, but through the U.S. news agency UPI) that he accepted the proposal. However, in a telephone conversation with a TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent confirming his agreement to the television meeting, he added that he had assigned his people to prepare for it. To be precise: Onyszkiewicz, Kuron, and Michnik. Notorious names. Moreover, so odious that worldly Poles were on the alert: They smelled a rat... Walesa had already named these people when he put forward his conditions for holding the "roundtable." But how can you sit down at the negotiating table and discuss problems which concern all Poles yet resort to the help of Onyszkiewicz, Kuron, Michnik, and others of that sort, who dream not of improving socialism but rather of overthrowing it?

On the eve of the meeting Walesa resorted to unworthy attacks, if not insults, on the leader of the 7 million-strong Polish trade unions. Why did he nonetheless appear on television 2 days later with those people whom he had attempted to abuse? Evidently, he himself had realized, or someone had hinted to him, that rudeness and aggression are not means that the public will find acceptable. So life will go on, and he will miss out by refusing to resolve with everyone the difficult problems that Poland is encountering.

Does he have something to say to people? Does he have something which will rivet the attention of viewers who clearly remember how "Solidarity" seemed to easily gain one bridgehead after another from the administrative-edict system? The process of socialist renewal has developed in the country, but Walesa and company have remained in antisocialist positions. At first taking shelter behind the workers slogan of "Socialism—yes, distortions—no," they later dropped their facade of respectability, revealing their real faces as fierce opponents of socialism. And they even began to take money from a foreign state, receiving $3 million annually for their upkeep!

The television debate showed that after "such a long absence," over the past 7 years, Walesa has become expert at slogans and formulas and that he boldly bandies about words such as "history," "epoch," "freedom," and "pluralism." He exploits the latter particularly frequently. "Only pluralism will save Poland," Walesa says. But he interprets it in his own way, as a chance to once again legalize the activity of "Solidarity"—that essentially political group which, when it gained strength, was bursting to attain state power without even a fleeting thought of "pluralism."

Whereas A. Miodowicz spoke about real problems which need to be resolved jointly, in an atmosphere of public calm and responsibility, L. Walesa just repeated his favorite old formulas. He seemed to be living in the past and not to have noticed the changes in the country, which is genuinely introducing pluralism both in the economic sphere (it is introducing equality between all sectors of the economy) and in political life.

I shall cite the rejoinders from the live television recording, albeit in abbreviated form:

A. Miodowicz: Years have passed, and our hair has turned gray. Now the situation in the country is different, but the worries remain. Everyone is bothered by the lines in the stores and on transport, and the foreign debt is enormous. What can be done to get rid of this? The only remedy is to work calmly, carry out reforms, and improve the economy. But what is happening? A wave of strikes in April and May. They were a tangible blow to the economy and split worker collectives. And it is not easy to overcome this split. We need unification in the interests of the people and the country.

L. Walesa: My wishes have not been fulfilled. I have waited 7 years for this meeting. But let's not sette scores. We need pluralism. One trade union per enterprise is laughable. Pluralism has proved its worth throughout the world, so why don't we have it? We are ready for the "roundtable" but we are not being met halfway. We, "Solidarity," must be noticed. There is no freedom without "Solidarity!"

A. Miodowicz: There is no freedom, you say. But is it freedom when your people chant in the streets: "Communists will hang from the trees instead of leaves?" Unfortunately, those are the facts. I repeat that we need public calm. You advocate multiple trade unions at enterprises. But they will contribute to the split in collectives, and thus to perpetual conflicts. They will compete with each other to demand more in order to be "more popular." What sort of accord is that?

L. Walesa: Without pluralism, nothing will happen. History will be our judge. I shall struggle whatever the outcome.

A. Miodowicz: We are moving in the direction of the broadest democratization. No one objects to diversity in views, positions, and world outlooks. But in our conditions diversity must exist within unity.

L. Walesa: I don't want to come crawling to you. The epoch requires rapid reforms... [Walesa concludes]

All the same, it was not the old L. Walesa. One point is that this time he stayed peaceful and calm, and even occasionally expressed common sense, like the idea, for example, that enterprises must not be the arena of political struggle (although in fact the former leader of the former "Solidarity" does not follow this rule). Walesa expressed the desire to continue such conversations.

Commenting on the television meeting, TRYBUNA LUDU notes its undoubted usefulness from the standpoint of the processes of glasnost and democratization developing in the country. In addition, the newspaper poses a number of questions. In demanding the legalization of "Solidarity," Walesa intimates that in both its program and its cadres it will be different from what it was 7-8 years ago. What is this, the newspaper asks, a reassessment of the former "Solidarity" with its strategy of anarchy and obstruction? Will it no longer contain people like Kuron or Michnik? And what must be done to prevent the pluralism which Walesa advocates from leading to anarchy? The illegal "Solidarity" structures, TRYBUNA LUDU continues, enjoy official subsidies from the U.S. Congress and unofficial ones from other foreign sources. Does Walesa know even a single instance in any country's practice in which an organization or movement using foreign finances for anticonstitutional activity is legally recognized?

These are serious questions, and they cannot be left unanswered.

...The television duel lasted for more than 40 minutes. It was like reconnaissance ahead of future dialogues. The very fact that such different people sat and talked in front of millions of television viewers says a great deal: The meeting took place, and socialist Poland remained socialist Poland.

Polish Scientific Delegation Visits Moscow

PM0512115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Exchange of Views"]

[Text] A delegation of leading scientific workers and the leadership of the PZPR Social Sciences Academy headed by A. Czyz, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Work Department, has been in Moscow in accordance with the plan for cooperation between the fraternal parties.

Over the course of 2 days there was a wide-ranging and frank exchange of opinions at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy between the Soviet and Polish scientists on the most important aspects of socialist renewal and on the elaboration of a more profound and specific idea of the forms and methods of socialist building and possible avenues and trends in the changes taking place in the economy, politics, and the system of socialist values.

The Polish comrades were received at the CPSU Central Committee, where a meeting was held with A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department.

Hungary's Nemeth Thanks Ryzhkov for Greetings

PM0612112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message of thanks from Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Esteemed Comrade Ryzhkov!

I express thanks to you and the USSR Council of Ministers for the congratulations on my election as chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers.

While holding this responsible post I will make tireless efforts to consistently implement the policy of reforms in our country for the sake of the Hungarian people's prosperity and in the interests of the further development of our traditional multifaceted cooperation and the strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

I take this opportunity to wish you and the members of the USSR Council of Ministers good health and further successes in your activity.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers

SED Plenum Sets Date for Party Congress

PM0612112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Work Concluded"]

[Text] Berlin, 2 Dec—An SED Central Committee plenum concluded its work here today. Its participants approved the Politburo report that was delivered by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. It was decided to convene the party's regular 12th congress in Berlin on 15-19 May 1990.

Approval was also given to draft laws on the national economic plan and the state budget for 1989. They will be remitted to the GDR People's Chamber for discussion and adoption.

The SED Central Committee resolved that an exchange of party tickets and candidate members' cards should take place in primary party organizations between 1 September and 31 December 1989.

The plenum elected to the secretaryship of the SED Central Committee W. Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

I. Gerstenberger, E. Krieg, and G. Rettner were promoted from candidate members to members of the SED Central Committee.

West Europe

Portuguese Congress Concludes, Medvedev Departs

PCP's Cunhal Speaks

PM0212123488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA special correspondent and TASS report on speech by Portuguese Communist Party Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal at the 12th PCP Congress, under general heading "Source of Inspiration"]

[Text] Oporto, 1 Dec—More than 2,000 delegates gathered today in the Cristal Palace, where the 12th PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] Congress has begun work.

The participants in the Portuguese Communists' forum warmly greeted the representatives of more than 70 fraternal communist and workers' parties and national democratic movements and organizatons, including the CPSU delegation headed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On the congress agenda is the discussion of the PCP Central Committee theses for the 12th party congress, which were submitted in the form of a report on the PCP's activity, the adoption of a program and amendments to the party statutes, and elections of leading bodies.

"The PCP Central Committee theses for the 12th party congress constitute a major document examining in detail the most important areas of the party's activity, the international situation, and the domestic political situation in Portugal," J. Casanova, member of the PCP Central Committee Political Commission, told us before the opening of the forum. "Tens of thousands of Communists took part in discussing the precongress documents, and submitted many amendments, changes, and additions."

"Our congress is meeting in a difficult period for the country," worker Antonio Magalhaes added. "The government has stepped up the course of curtailing the gains of the April revolution and denationalizing the state sector of the economy, and the attack on the agrarian reform continues. That is why the attention of all working people in the country is focused on the congress."

The Portuguese Communists are discussing at their congress the most topical and urgent questions of Portugal's life and problems of the struggle for peace and the international communist and workers' movement.

Those present listened with great attention to the speech by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the PCP.

A. Cunhal's Speech

The future of the party and our people and motherland will depend on the decisions our congress adopts, he said. The 12th party congress is called upon to adopt very important decisions concerning four main problems: to appprove the new party program, adopt a political resolution based on the PCP Central Committee theses, make amendments and additions to the statutes, and elect a new Central Committee, which will be substantially renewed.

The party is holding the 12th congress with the confidence that all the tasks set will be fulfilled. It is aware of its responsibility for the state of affairs in the country, and that the defeat of reaction and the democratic future of Portugal will depend largely on its capacity for energetic actions. We believe in our party, in the working class and all working people, in the Portuguese people.

Dwelling on topical problems of the international situation, A. Cunhal noted that thanks to the dynamic new proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the peoples' struggle for peace, the present situation has changed substantially, opening up positive trends and prospects. A new climate has been created in USSR-U.S. relations. Significant results were achieved in the arms limitation and disarmament sphere thanks to the conclusion of the agreement to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe.

The PCP secretary general noted the importance of talks aimed at the political settlement of regional conflicts. He pointed out that the process of relaxation of tension is developing in the world and the dialogue and talks that are in progress are reaffirming the importance of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation and peace. These positive changes in the international atmosphere, which are indisputable evidence of the failure of imperialism's aggressive policy, do not, however, mean changes in the basic contradictions of the society we live in.

Analyzing the development of world processes, A. Cunhal stated that the capitalist system has not changed its exploitative and contradictory nature. At the same time, he said, the gains of socialism, the struggle, will, and determination of the working people and of all the peoples for liberation from exploitation and economic, social, political, cultural, and national oppression have revealed themselves with new force.

The PCP leader said that the most developed capitalist countries are currently experiencing a period of a certain upsurge, economic growth, and relative stability, arising from scientific and technical progress and the introduction of new technologies and accompanied by a process of capitalist integration and the international division of labor. Nonetheless capitalism, preserving its exploitative and aggressive nature, cannot resolve its own contradictions between big monopoly capital and the working people and other social strata, between different capitalist countries, and between developed states and the most backward states, especially the Third World countries.

The capitalist system, the PCP leader stressed, must not be assessed one-sidedly solely in terms of the level of development and accumulated wealth in the most developed capitalist countries. The capitalist system must be seen in global terms, on the basis of the contrasting examples of the might and wealth of multinational complexes and at the same time flaws like unemployment, hunger, poverty, and child mortality, as a result of which millions of people suffer.

The 20th century, A. Cunhal said, opened up a new era for mankind—the opportunity to build a society free from the exploitation of man by man. The Great October Socialist Revolution was clear evidence of this historical change. The building of a socialist society is a bold, complex, creative revolutionary process. At the same time the building of socialism is not guaranteed against contradictions, errors, or the adoption of ineffective decisions. This process is determined in each country by numerous features of an objective and subjective nature. Experience shows that there is no such thing as a single model of socialism. The building of the new society has as many paths as there are peoples who have chosen the path of socialist development, as many as there are countries with their own economic and social structure.

The restructuring that is under way in the USSR is gaining special significance both in connection with the analysis and evaluation of the past experience of socialist building, and in the context of the transformations and renewal of socialist society. This process is designed to put an end to stagnation, shortcomings, and errors. It covers all aspects of society's life: politics, economics, the social and cultural sphere, and also the party.

Contrary to the fabrications of anticommunist propaganda, which claims that restructuring means the "collapse" of socialism, in fact the current process of transformations in the USSR is a move in the direction of a radically new, higher stage of socialism, and does not call into question its basic values: people's power, the party's leading role, social ownership of the main means of production, the absence of exploitation of man by man, and the basic principle of distribution to each according to his labor, as well as the planned economy and planned social development.

The aim of restructuring is to strengthen and improve these principles of socialism. The democratization of society and of all the life of the party and state is the basis of restructuring, fully confirming the CPSU slogan: "More democracy, more socialism."

The creation of the world socialist system and the peoples' struggle have completely recarved the political map of the world, A. Cunhal continued. As a result of the collapse of the colonial system dozens of countries, like

Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan, have gained independence and are heroically defending it in the struggle against imperialism. The fall of the fascist and reactionary dictatorships in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Haiti, Sudan, and the Philippines, the PCP secretary general concluded, is evidence of new victories for the peoples in the liberation struggle.

Dwelling on the domestic political situation in Portugal, A. Cunhal said that it is characterized by the stepping up of the offensive of right-wing forces that are trying to destroy the progressive gains of the revolution of April 1974 and restore the power of monopoly capital and the latifundists. The government of the Social Democrats has become the champion of reaction, managing to push through a number of antipopular laws on the strength of its parliamentary majority. These laws are used as "legal" cover for the launching of a new offensive aimed at undermining the democratic system, the Portuguese Communists' leader stressed. In this connection he noted the particularly dangerous nature of the right-wing forces' plans to revise the Portuguese Constitution, eliminate the agrarian reform, drastically restrict the rights of trade unions and workers' commissions, denationalize the state sector of the economy, and recarve the electoral system on an undemocratic basis, as well as other reactionary measures. A. Cunhal called for a strengthening of the unity of all the country's democratic forces to thwart reaction's schemes.

The Portuguese people's selfless struggle in defense of the April revolution has prevented reaction from achieving its strategic aims, he said. This struggle was concentrated mainly on the attainment of specific aims of an economic, social, political, and cultural nature. It was aimed at the defense of the state sector of the economy and agrarian reform and against antipopular labor legislation and certain other resolutions by the present government. This struggle was expressed in the form of strikes, demonstrations and marches, election campaigns, actions in the Assembly of the Republic (parliament) and other state organs, and participation in local organs of power. Mainly, it was an impressive, mighty movement of the masses against the policy of right-wing forces. The struggle for peace was a part of the struggle of the people's masses. In the period since the 10th PCP Congress this struggle was associated first and foremost with the international struggle for disarmament and other united goals of the peoples of the world in the struggle for peace. Second, it was a struggle for Portugal to pursue a foreign policy in defense of its national independence, for the banning of the siting or transportation of nuclear weapons through national territory, against the building of NATO facilities in Portugal, including the American spy satellite tracking station at Almodovar, against the expansion of the military range at Alcochete, and against allowing ships carrying nuclear weapons to call in the waters of the River Tagus. Third, this struggle included the Portuguese people's solidarity with peoples who were victims of imperialist aggression. This struggle was manifested in important international initiatives and measures—such as peace marches, youth festivals, congresses and colloquiums, and meetings of peace-loving forces.

Speaking about Portugal's integration into the EEC, the PCP secretary general stressed that this decision was taken not on the basis of the need to resolve serious national problems and not for the sake of accelerating the country's economic development and social progress, but mainly so that the counterrevolutionary process could use integration as a new pretext for stepping up the offensive against the economic system formed as a result of the April revolution and accelerating the restoration of monopoly capitalism in the country. The development of the economic situation in Portugal since its entry into the Common Market has confirmed the conclusions and results of the PCP analysis. Stagnation phenomena have intensified in agriculture, the restructuring of industry led to mass dismissals and the closure of many enterprises, many promising national development projects were canceled, and the trade deficit with the EEC countries increased. In general, A. Cunhal said, the integration process and the supranational nature of many EEC decisions have directly affected the interests of the Portuguese. Portugal is allotted the role of an appendage to Europe in the international division of labor, and its independence and national sovereignty are restricted.

At the same time the policy of the present Social Democratic government in restoring the monopolies has not resolved the difficulties in the Portuguese economy, but has led to still greater laggardness in relation to the most developed EEC countries. Imports have increased sharply and inflation has reached nearly 10 percent, much higher than in the Common Market countries. The country's foreign debt remains at the level of $16 billion. The lag in agriculture in comparison with other EEC countries has increased. Considerably less of many types of agricultural produce is being produced.

The situation in the social sphere has also deteriorated sharply. Real wages have fallen, and mass dismissals, unemployment, and direct and indirect taxation have increased.

The Portuguese working people and the people as a whole are paying dearly for the policy of restoration of monopolies.

A. Cunhal pointed to the need to seek the unity of all democratic forces. In this respect the party is struggling for the rapprochement and unity of democratic parties, whose course is aimed at waging a concrete struggle against the policy of the right and of big capital, against the restoration of monopoly power, and in defense of the interests of the people, the country, democracy, and national independence.

Touching on the party's tasks in the coming years, the PCP secretary general noted that the 1974 April revolution was one of the most important events in Portugal's history. Many of the April gains, despite the present counterrevolutionary processes, continue to influence national life, he said. As the draft new party program submitted for approval by the congress stresses, whatever counterrevolutionary processes there may be, democracy requires effective guarantees and the full observance of citizens' freedoms and political and social rights; it requires guarantees of the people's participation in decisionmaking in the sphere of national policy. Democracy requires the improvement of the Portuguese people's living conditions. The democratization of all economic, social, and cultural life and the implementation of a policy of national independence are necessary. As the draft program notes, the main values of the April revolution have struck firm roots in Portuguese society and take the form of the objective necessity and real desire for a democratic future for Portugal.

That is the main avenue of advanced democracy on the eve of the 21st century that the PCP proposes to the Portuguese people.

A. Cunhal went on to dwell on the communist movement's role as the determining political force in the progressive transformation of society. He stressed that the world is moving toward socialism and that socialism and communism are the future for all the peoples. Hence the historic responsibility of the communist movement. Not only the strengthening of the friendship and fraternity of communist and workers' parties, but also their cooperation, mutual solidarity, and coordinated actions assume vital importance at the present stage, in our view, he said. In this connection the presence of such a large number of delegations from communist, workers', and progressive parties, national liberation mvoements, and socialist parties at our congress is noteworthy. We attach particular significance to the presence of two delegations at the congress. The first is the CPSU delegation. At the 10th PCP Congress, which took place in this very palace in 1983, it was headed by M.S. Gorbachev, who is now general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Recalling his fraternal participation in the work of the 10th congress and welcoming the CPSU delegation to the present congress, we welcome restructuring—a revolutionary process with worldwide echoes.

We also particularly note the participation of a CPC delegation in the congress, since for more than 20 years relations between our parties were broken off. Now we are pleased to say that fraternal relations are fully restored between the PCP and the CPC.

The PCP secretary general devoted a considerable proportion of his speech to questions of democratization in the party.

A. Cunhal said in conclusion: Life confirms that the PCP is the only party that firmly and purposefully defends the interests of the working people, the people, and the country, and the democratic system created by the April revolution. Life confirms that the Portuguese people has in the PCP the sole political force that will always be on their side in all circumstances. Therefore life also confirms that the PCP's existence is necessary and the party is irreplaceable in the Portuguese democracy. The PCP is a party of its word, and always tells the people the truth. Therefore it is a party the people can trust.

The 12th PCP Congress will be a very important step along the path of strengthening the party's ranks, stepping up its actions, and increasing its links with the working people and the people's masses, it will be a congress that makes a decisive contribution to the democratic, progressive, and independent future of Portugal.

A debate began on A. Cunhal's speech at the congress.

The speeches by delegates and guests of the congress began today at the evening session. The participants greeted V.A. Medvedev's speech with tumultuous applause.

Medvedev Meets Party Leaders

PM0512145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Between Soviet Delegation Head and Portuguese Communist Party Leadership"]

[Text] Oporto, 2 Dec—V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting and conversation with Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, and other Portuguese Communist Party leaders in Oporto today.

On the same day, the leader of the CPSU delegation, together with representatives of other communist and workers parties, attended a festive ceremony organized in their honor by Oporto Mayor Fernando Cabral.

Visits Oporto Shipyard

PM0512151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents V. Volkov, A. Chernyak, Yu. Lopatin, and V. Reshetilov: "Visit to Oporto's Shipbuilders"]

[Text] Oporto, 2 Dec—A tall ship in full sail on the ocean waves—this is the logo of Portugal's famous Viana do Castelo shipyard. All types of vessels—dry cargo ships and trawlers, warships and container ships—are built here. The shipyard enjoys the confidence of foreign clients, including the Soviet Union.

The Viana do Castelo shipyard was visited today by the CPSU delegation headed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The delegation is taking part in the work of the 12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress.

There are about 300 Communists among the shipyard's workers. The policy pursued by the Portuguese Communist Party enjoys respect and prestige among the nonparty workers.

Cordially welcoming the visitors, the Portuguese comrades spoke about their enterprise.

"We started cooperating with the Soviet 'Sudoimport' Foreign Trade Association 12 years ago," Duarte Silva, chairman of the shipyard's administrative council, announced. "In this time we have built 18 ships for the Soviet Union and received orders for a further 7. The dry cargo carrier 'Gazanfar Musabekov' is being prepared to be handed over to the Caspian Shipping Line. These facts speak for themselves and eloquently describe the developing cooperation between Portugal and the USSR.

"Soviet orders are very, very necessary for us," the chairman of the administrative council emphasized. "First, this gives the enterprise stability and confidence in the future, and second, it ensures work for most residents of our small town. The shipyard has always been flexible toward the Soviet partner's needs. The ships built here meet the strictest requirements."

"The enterprise has set up a labor council," Goncalo Fagundes, one of the local party organization's leaders, told us. "The labor council chairman is on the shipyard's board of directors. We protect the workers' interests and monitor the directors' activity both in the solution of production questions and in the social sphere."

V.A. Medvedev toured the shipyard and spoke with workers and representatives of the party organization, the trade unions, and the administration.

The Viana do Castelo shipyard, V.A. Medvedev remarked, is a graphic example of the coincidence of economic interests and the interests of the strengthening of friendship and all-around ties between working people in Portugal and the Soviet Union. I would like to note that the durability of these ties and their future depend on the extent to which purely commercial relations will be combined with production sharing and other forms of scientific and technical cooperation.

V.A. Medvedev described the experience of restructuring in our country, the expansion of initiative in labor collectives, and workers' self-management, including the election of enterprise directors. The leader of the CPSU delegation wished the shipyard's workers and its engineering and technical staff successes in their work.

Holds News Conference

LD0312174688 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Oporto December 3 TASS—By TASS special correspondent. Vadim Medvedev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading a CPSU delegation at the 12th congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, held a news conference here today.

He fielded numerous questions from Portuguese and foreign journalists which dealt with the various aspects of the perestroyka (restructuring) programme in the Soviet Union, inter-ethnic relations and Soviet foreign policy.

Having noted the positive changes in relations between the Soviet Union and a number of Western countries in the past few years, the head of the CPSU delegation stressed that the Soviet Union hoped for further development of mutually advantageous cooperation. The successful continuation of the disarmament process and the strengthening of international security which it believed was in line with the objective processes of world development

Medvedev Praises Relations

LD0412223388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The 12th Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Congress ended today. Our correspondent Viktor Anikin reports from Oporto:

[Anikin] A Soviet party delegation headed by Comrade Medvedev which participated in the work of the 12th PCP Congress has attracted great interest. Numerous requests for interviews with various mass media of many countries accredited at the congress have been addressed to the delegation. Of course, members of our delegation would simply not have enough time for all the interviews; thus it has been decided to hold a news conference. During the conference Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev answered numerous questions. What were the questions about? Of course, first of all, about the progress of restructuring in our country and its influence on international events.

[Begin Medvedev recording] Concerning the positive attitude toward our restructuring and its support, I would like to say being present here at the 12th PCP Congress, we value very highly the position on this question expressed in a report by Comrade Cunhal and the congress' documents. We value this support highly, and I believe that it shows the high standard of relations between our parties and our mutual understanding. We value this positively.

The restructuring is an active participation of people in discussion, in an examination of all questions, and an activation of our press and mass media in criticism and discussions with regard to clarifying problems. [end recording] [passage omitted]

PCP Congress Ends

PM0612110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Dec 88 Second Edition p5

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents and TASS correspondents V. Volkov, A. Chernyak, I. Gvritishvili, Yu. Lopatin, V. Reshetilov: "12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress Ends"]

[Text] Oporto, 4 Dec—Beneath the arches of the "Cristal" Palace, a choir of many thousands sang "The International." The melody of the proletarian anthem rallied people still further, gave them strength and confidence, and focused their sights on the great tasks mapped out by the 12th Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Congress, which ended today.

The forum of Portuguese Communists has been at work for 4 days. The participants included more than 2,000 delegates and also numerous foreign guests, including a CPSU delegation led by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The congress adopted the party program and a political resolution and made additions and amendments to the PCP Statute.

The supreme aim of the PCP—a party of workers and all working people—is to build socialism and communism, which will put an end to man's exploitation by his fellow men and bring the Portuguese people peace, prosperity, freedom, respect for the individual, culture, equality, and happiness, the PCP Program says. Our party, the document continues, is a component part of the international communist and workers movement and of revolutionary forces all over the world. It is guided in its activity by the principles of proletarian internationalism, fraternal cooperation, and mutual solidarity.

The aims and tasks of the PCP's struggle are in the basic interests of the overwhelming majority of the country's population. They are opposed to the interests and policies of the monopolies, big capitalists, and large landowners and also those of reactionary and conservative circles.

The Communist Party, the program notes, is a force actively involved in and constantly making a constructive, creative contribution to the solution of the country's economic, social, and political problems, while never losing sight of the task of thorougly transforming society. The Communist Party has been and remains the only major political organization to firmly and consistently oppose the policy of right-wing circles and is the main bastion of democracy.

The PCP Program sees one of the main tasks at the contemporary stage to be the struggle for "progressive democracy on the threshold of the 21st century." This includes creating a situation of freedom in which the people will themselves decide their own future, forming a democratic state based on the working people's broad participation in its government, developing an economy which satisfies the people's interests, and conducting a social and cultural policy in the interests of the broad masses and an independent, sovereign motherland which pursues a policy of peace and cooperation between peoples. Both in the present and in the long term, the document notes, a most important task facing the party is still that of consistently defending the April 1974 revolution. Unity of the working class, social movements, and democratic forces is a precondition of this.

The international section of the program says that the PCP positively appraises the new climate of relations that has recently taken shape between the Soviet Union and the United States, of which the recently signed Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is confirmation. Portuguese Communists also draw attention to the fact that favorable prospects have recently opened up with regard to reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons, eliminating chemical and bacteriological weapons, and reducing conventional weapons.

The political resolution approved by the congress participants highly appraises the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which stems from the principles of new political thinking. The consistent, peace-loving policy of the socialist countries and the energetic initiatives proposed by the Soviet Union in their indissoluble connection with restructuring are noted as the main factor in the positive trends in the world arena. The socialist countries, the document says, have become the main guarantors of social progress and peace in the contemporary era.

The political resolution adopted by the participants in the 12th PCP Congress notes the important significance of the struggle for peace. Portuguese Communists are in favor of a successful conclusion to the Soviet-American talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear weapons, opposed to the militarization of space, in favor of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and on other continents, and for the creation of a lasting international system of security and cooperation.

The PCP is in favor of strengthening the cohesion of the communist movement and galvanizing the proposal of initiatives, as well as cooperation and collaboration.

The international communist movement is still a determining political force in the revolutionary process and the progressive transformation of society, which is characteristic of our age. The new atmosphere has raised the question of the need for collective reflection on the nature of the present-day communist movement and its component parts and political platform. This is particularly necessary because the communist movement is now coming under powerful political and ideological pressure and attempts are being made to discredit communist ideals and distort their class nature and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The new, 175-member PCP Central Committee was elected at a closed session of the congress. The PCP Central Committee elected the leading party bodies—the Central Committee Political Commission and the PCP Central Committee Secretariat.

Comrade Alvaro Cunhal was reelected general secretary of the PCP.

Delivering the closing speech today, Alvaro Cunhal summed up the results of the work done by the Portuguese communist forum. The entire course of the congress' work and the speeches by its delegates, he said, have been convincing evidence of the party's unity and its ability to be the advanced detachment of the Portuguese working people and direct their struggle to build a society of progressive democracy in the country on the threshold of the 21st century. Underlining the significance of the new PCP Program and the amendments made to the PCP Statute, the leader of the Portuguese Communists stressed that they give the party clear guidelines and determine PCP strategy and tactics for the coming years.

Alvaro Cunhal urged Portuguese Communists to do their utmost to combat reactionary attempts to eliminate the achievements of the April revolution, singlemindedly defend the interests of the working people, the people, and the country, and strive to build a socialist society in Portugal.

Meets Soviet Diplomats, Workers

LD0512225788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Medvedev, who is in Portugal at the invitation of the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party, today had a working meeting at the USSR embassy with diplomats, leaders of Soviet establishments, and Soviet journalists in that country.

Medvedev, Delegation Depart

LD0612125088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1112 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Lisbon, 6 Dec (TASS)—The CPSU delegation headed by Vadim Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today left Lisbon for Moscow. The delegation took part in the work of the 12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Among the sending-off party was V.P. Kasatkin, USSR ambassador to Portugal.

Political & Social

Joint Resolution Issued on Transcaucasus Firings

LD0512192688 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers said today in a resolution on gross violations of people's constitutional rights in Azerbaijan and Armenia that they have been receiving numerous complaints from working people in the two Transcaucasian republics about mass-scale dismissals on ethnic grounds.

Trustworthy information is available to the effect that economic managers and party leaders not only fail to put an end to these criminal arbitrary practices, pressure and threats against innocent people but often directly connive in these illegal actions and even take an immediate part in them.

The CPSU Central Committee and the government demanded that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the Councils of Ministers of the two Republics move decisively to stop the flagrant violations of people's constitutional rights and take every essential measure to prevent their recurrence.

The heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations and of party bodies and governing councils allowing illegal dismissals on ethnic grounds must be brought personally to account and face punishment, including expulsion from the party, removal from office and, in cases envisaged by law, criminal responsibility, the resolution said.

It instructed that work to stamp out such illegal, nationalist practices be conducted publicly and openly and that measures taken against people guilty of resorting to these practices be announced at their places of employment and also to the general public through the press and other mass media.

The resolution was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Television Reports Resolution

LD0512200188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast—CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Resolution of 5 December 1988 entitled "On Most Flagrant Violations of Citizens' Constitutional Rights in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have been receiving numerous complaints from working people of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR in connection with dismissals from work on the basis of nationality, which are becoming widespread. Reliable information is available that economic and party leaders are not only not repulsing this criminal willfulness, pressure, and threats against completely innocent people, but frequently openly show indulgence toward unlawful actions and even directly participate in them.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have decided:

To demand from the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and ministries and departments that a resolute end be put to the most flagrant violations of the citizens' constitutional rights, and that all necesssary measures for the prevention of their future repetition be taken. The leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, as well as party and soviet bodies who allow citizens to be unlawfully dismissed from work on the basis of nationality are to be held personally accountable, right up to their expulsion from the party, removal from their post, in instances envisaged by the law, the institution of criminal proceedings.

The work in eradicating such nationalist and unlawful manifestations is to be carried out in conditions of wide glasnost. The measures taken in respect of the guilty individuals are to be reported to the labor collectives and notified to the public through the press and other mass media.

The fulfillment of this resolution to be reported to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution is signed by Comrades Gorbachev and Ryzhkov.

Trancaucasian Republics Cooperation, Aid Urged

Armenia's Voskanyan Interviewed

PM0612093788 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by unnamed ARMENPRESS Correspondent: "Resolving Complex Problems"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] In view of the tremendous public interest in the forthcoming republic Supreme Soviet session, your ARMENPRESS correspondent asked G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to answer a number of questions.

[Correspondent] Grant Mushegovich, the forthcoming Supreme Soviet session is going to examine the question of progress in the republic's soviet and economic organs' fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. What are the initial results of our republic's work in this regard?

[Voskanyan] I believe that the mutual link between the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh is becoming closer and stronger. Cooperation is developing in the socioeconomic sphere and in cultural and spiritual life. Our Artsakh [ancient name for area roughly coinciding with present-day NKAO] brothers and sisters are now able to receive Armenian TV Program 1 and radio broadcasts. The number of direct intercity telephone lines has more than tripled. The NKAO regularly receives sociopolitical, artistic, and popular science literature. Armenian schools were supplied with textbooks and study grants by the beginning of the school year. The special [tselevoy] admission of young men and women from Nagorn0-Karabakh into higher and secondary specialised educational institutions in Armenia has increased several times over.

Health care organs are helping to improve the oblast population's medical services and are delivering medical equipment.

The republic has begun to fulfill a construction program in the oblast. Special attention is being paid here to the construction of housing and other social facilities.

[Correspondent] You spoke about the measures that have been taken and the problems connected with the development of Artsakh's social, economic, and cultural potential. Will the session be confined to those questions alone?

[Voskanyan] The legitimate and just demand of the overwhelming majority of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be resolved by economic programs alone. The republic's Supreme Soviet, like all Armenia, wants a political settlement of the question. The problem has not been taken off the agenda, solutions are being sought determinedly, and we are entitled to expect a fair approach to the question.

[Correspondent] The republic's Supreme Soviet session in June condemned the appalling crimes in Sumgait. Do you consider it normal that this tragedy has still not been given its proper political assessment by the union authorities?

[Voskanyan] Our people's historical past has know quite a few tragic episodes. Who would have thought that another episode of that kind could have occurred in the late 20th century? The pain and tragedy of Sumgait are like an open wound.

In view of the great social danger of the crime committed in Sumgait in the Azerbaijan SSR in February 1988, which caused considerable harm to interethnic relations between these two Transcaucasian peoples, we think it necessary to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to condemn the crimes against the Armenian population in Sumgait.

[Correspondent] The republic's public is expressing concern at the fact that the legal organs are not examining the Sumgait affair as a single crime. What measures is the republic's Supreme Soviet taking in this respect?

[Voskanyan] We share the concern of the Armenian public. In view of the fact that the crimes committed in Sumgait represent a single offense against Armenians and that the present criminal proceedings, which are being investigated separately and by legal organs in different parts of the country, are interconnected, a proposal will be submitted to the republic's Supreme Soviet to ask the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine the Sumgait crime as a single criminal case.

[Correspondent] The biased and unobjective coverage of recent events in the central newspapers not only disinforms Soviet readers in general but also destabilizes the situation in the republic. We would like your opinion on this matter, Grant Mushegovich.

[Voskanyan] Unfortunately we must note that items by the mass media and the television on the NKAO's problems have not always been marked by balance or objectivity, and have sometimes even created distorted images of the complex processes that are taking place in the region. Items like that disorient public opinion and increase tension. In view of that we intend to ask the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to take the necessary measures to ensure objective reporting of the events in and around Nagorno-Karabkah.

Youth Daily Appeals for Calm

PM0512100188 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 December 1988 carries on page 4 a series of photographs showing people waiting at a railroad station with their belongings, a tank in a city square, and a child. The photographs are accompanied by the following commentary by Vasiliy Peskov, headed "Brothers, Stop!":

"Our photograpic correspondent flew in from the Transcaucasus late last night. We are looking at the still wet photographs. Incredible—refugees.... Refugees fleeing from Armenia to Azerbaijan. Refugees fleeing from Azerbaijan to Armenia. People fleeing from danger. And the danger is real. Blood is being shed. And much more may be shed. What for? Why? Who benefits from all this?

"The mob cannot answer all these questions. The mob is blind. Each individual person can and must simmer down and ask himself: Why? The unrestrained venting of passions can result not only in much bloodshed. It creates a river of bitterness for many generations of Armenians, for many generations of Azerbaijanis. Think on this, brothers!

"They will not go down in history, those who incite acts of arson, murder, and violence, which all bring shame on people. History remembers people who in Baku, in Yerevan, and in all trouble spots, big or small, find the wisdom, find the words and strength of spirit to get the hotheads to simmer down. Brothers, rise above those who have lost their heads! Make them understand! The time will come when the nation of Armenians and the nation of Azerbaijanis will thank you for this.

"Look at the frightened faces of the children in the photographs. The events are sowing bitter seeds in their hearts. The heart of a child must be protected from wounds. But, today, the body has to be protected as well. None of us, in the country at large, can sleep easy knowing that the child of an Armenian mother or the child of an Azerbaijani mother may have been killed. It is painful to admit that tanks have to be sent in to protect children, mothers, and old people. But tanks cannot solve the problem—what one hopes for is wise words and courage on both sides of the seething confrontation. They must see reason. It is important to see reason. It is essential! This is what people are pleading for not only in Moscow, Kiev, and Vilnius, in Khabarovsk and Tashkent. All that is honest and pure in the world wants to see neither Armenian nor Azerbaijani blood shed. Only the most committed of our common enemies could take a gleeful delight in the Caucasian bloodshed. They must see reason! Even in the Middle Ages, in the years of grim clan and tribal strife, people were able to set aside temporary grudges, extend a hand of friendship, and thereby save themselves. They must see reason!

"This appeal to reason is not only anguish over your fate, Armenians and Azerbaijanis. It is anguish and anxiety over our common future. Do not allow heavy rocks to fall and block our common road. After all, we are only at the start of the path. Let us find a way out together, for a way out exists. One only has to simmer down. One has to heed the words of the wise men, not of those who are kings for a day. And we hope that these words will resound in the mountains of the Caucasus....

"It is ten o'clock already. There is a call from the printing room downstairs: It is time to get the presses rolling. And I only have time to repeat the invocation: Stop, brothers!"

Children To Receive Aid

LD0512185988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee today adopted a decision on measures to aid children of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, which states the following:

Of late, central bodies have been receiving requests from state, party, and public organizations of the Azerbaijan SSR, and also from the working people of these republics, on providing aid in the form of accomodation and teaching for the children of families forced to quit their places of permanent residence.

The state and public organizations of the country consider it to be their duty to provide the children of Azerbaijan and Armenia with immediate aid, to guard them from interethnic feuding, and to make available the possibility of their temporary accomodation, on the request of their parents, in sanatoriums belonging to the trade unions and the Komsomol.

The USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol central committee resolve:

1. To allocate, in trade union sanatoriums, tourist establishments, and sanatorium-like pioneer camps up to 20,000 places for the temporary accomodation of children of preschool and school age, and where necessary with their parents; and up to 4,000 places in Komsomol pioneer camps for the accomodation of school children. Expenditure to this end is borne by the AUCCTU and the Komsomol central committee.

2. To accept the proposal of the Soviet Lenin Children's Fund and the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies establishing public groups to aid children in a number of oblasts and rayons of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR.

3. The USSR State Committee for Education and the Ministries of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR are to organize a teaching and educational process in areas of the temporary accomodation of children, and to form to this end direct teams of teachers, providing them with the necessary textbooks and educational aids.

4. The Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Railways, and the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation are to ensure the organized transportation of children to the areas of their temporary accomodation.

5. The USSR Ministry of Health is to ensure the necessary medical care of children in areas of their temporary residence and to note that additional expenditure to this end is borne by the Soviet Lenin Children's Fund.

Azerbaijan's Secretary Vezirov Addresses People

LD0512181388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Khalilovich Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, today addressed the working people of Azerbaijan over republican television and radio.

Correspondent Visits Injured Kirovabad Troops

PM0512115988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Reply to the Point": "On the Matter of People Wounded...."]

[Text] Yesterday several of our readers inquired about the condition of the troops who were injured as a result of the outrages in Kirovabad. Our correspondent visited the military hospital.

"There are 25 servicemen being treated here," Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel L. Palamarchuk, who is also hospital deputy chief, said. "They are all in satisfactory condition, and the majority are on the mend."

I saw bowls of fruit, candy, and cakes by the beds, and Leonid Filipovich explained:

"Officers' wives are frequent visitors. I. Kondrakova, Ye. Stepanenko, and Z. Sarkarova have just been here. They brought all that."

I talked with the wounded men. Private S. Oganesyan and Sergeant N. Kazymov had received injuries while on the square outside the party gorkom. They discuss the events, painting a composite picture. Indeed, they have been serving together for some months, in the same subunit.

"I am Armenian," Oganesyan said, "and Kazymov is Azerbaijani. But there on the square, we stood side by side. And no one is going to spoil our friendship in the future."

"Yes, nothing will divide us," Kazymov said in support of his comrade.

Azerbaijan Academician Urges Scientific Approach

NC0312081188 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0451 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Under the title "To Separate the Grain From the Chaff," the KOMMUNIST and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY newspapers have published an article by Dostomirov, corresponding member of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

In a situation in which a new wave of meetings aroused by the provocative activities of the enemies of the normalization of the state of affairs in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and around it has passed through Baku and a number of rayons of the republic, and in which conditions have become extremely complex as a result of disorders and illegal activities, strictly theoretical discussions could appear to be out of place, the author writes. Nevertheless, this not-so-simple situation makes it a pressing necessity to understand what is happening.

This also is dictated, in particular, by the fact that demands and proposals by participants in a meeting have been pushed to the center of attention of the republic. Among these, in addition to those which are well-founded, just, and which reflect the true deep feelings and mood of the Azerbaijani people, one also can find some that are unequal, unconstructive, or simply just wrong.

This convinces one how important it is to distinguish reality from delusions, truth from lies, and the genuine interests of the people from the imaginary ones. Without this, it is impossible to work out a scientific approach to such complicated problems of social reality as ethnic and interethnic problems and their solution.

Rally Dispersed, Unrest Continues in Baku City

Atmosphere Described 4 Dec

PM0512100388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent R. Lynev, A. Stepovoy dispatch under general heading: "Yesterday, 4 December"]

[Text] Baku—Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, reports that troops are resolutely putting a stop to all manifestations of unlawful behavior. The young people gathered in the central Lenin Square behaved correctly during inspections and there were no provocations, the same report of the military commandant states further.

At the same time, the military commandant demanded strict compliance with Soviet laws from rally leaders and warned that any deviation from the set procedure will be stopped.

Today a large group of workers representing the thousands-strong collective of the Azerbaijan Bread Marketing Association appealed to rally participants from the pages of the newspaper VYSHKA. They have ensured uninterrupted bread supplies in Baku during the past days, and today they appeal: "Return to your work places, do not let down allied enterprises and clients throughout the country. The people have had their say. Now it is necessary to work, work, and work again in order to make up for lost production."

On behalf of religious leaders, the rally participants were addressed by Hadzhi Sabir Gazanov, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Transcaucasus. He said: "Our duty to the Most High and our love of the fatherland command us to hold sacred and strengthen the cohesion of peoples of various nationalities. Our mission is to contribute to the renewal of society and to the cause of restructuring by prayer and concrete action."

Today collectives of 92 enterprises were in operation in Baku, 39 of which were working on their own initiative in order to make up the losses of recent days.

1,500 Rally in Lenin Square

LD0512120488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] The situation in Azerbaijan remains tense. About 1,500 people came out to the Lenin square in Baku last night. But despite repeated demands by a commandant, the crowd refused to disperse. The chairman of the Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies, a representative of the city procurator, appealed to those gathered to leave the square, but his request was ignored. Then the commandant of the first sector of the Baku special district [r osobyy rayon] gave an order to special sub-units to clear the square. Irresponsible elements tried to resist, but the servicemen succeeded in their tasks. No weapons were used.

Those who violated the special situation were evicted from the square. Some of them have been detained pending identification. Order is returning to Lenin Square.

However, the situation in Baku remains tense. At a number of enterprises, people have failed to show up for work. In the center, transport is not operating. The local media keeps the population informed about the events in the city in an attempt to explain the situation and dissipate unjustified rumors.

Three Soldiers, Student Wounded

LD0612120688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Notice of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation remains tense in the city. The morning and afternoon notices of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District realistically assessed events in Lenin Square. Unfortunately, a section of citizens, particularly Azerbaijani youths who have lost their heads, are following elements involved in disorder and hooliganism. These elements, taking advantage of the low level of information among the population, continue to spread false rumors that there were many victims among the local population, which creates an unhealthy situation in the city.

During the day the situation was tense in Nasimi, Nizami, and Narimanov Rayons. In these rayons, extremists and criminal elements stirred up disorders on a massive scale and attempted to loot and commit other illegal acts. In some cases, for example in foreign [adzhnabi] residential districts, illegal meetings turned into excesses.

Under such conditions, the majority of workers displayed a lofty feeling of responsibility and carried out their normal work at the majority of enterprises in the city. The personnel delegation of the special district troops are fulfilling precisely the duties put before them and are not giving in to provocative threats and numerous attacks by extremist and hooligan elements against servicemen. In order to prevent looting and disorder, servicemen used their weapons as a warning. While hooligan actions were being repelled, three servicemen and a student of the Institute of Medicine were wounded. A thorough investigation is being carried out in connection with all events which have taken place.

Comrades of Baku, I appeal to you once again: Keep your heads and keep calm.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Lenin Square Death Claims Denied

PM0612104588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga report under the general heading "Problems Remain: Our Special Correspondents Report From the Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Many enterprises in Baku were not working again yesterday, sentries were everywhere, children did not go to school, VUZ's stood empty, and city transport was not operating. Our correspondent asked Major G. Korobov, deputy military commandant for political affairs in the first precinct, to comment on the situation in the city:

"As is well known, for a long time a group of people gathered in V.I. Lenin Square where they held unauthorized, around-the-clock rallies. In view of the health situation there, the square had to be quickly cleaned up and disinfected because there was a real danger of infectious disease. The young people who had spent the night in the square were repeatedly asked to leave so that it could be cleaned. The chairman of the Baku Gorispolkom and the city prosecutor asked them to leave and offered them buses for this purpose.

"However, a group of young people refused to leave the square, despite numerous appeals by Major General V. Bosov, commandant of the first precinct of the Baku City Special District. Special subunits were then brought into operation and cleared the square. Several of those taking part in the unauthorized rallies were detained pending their identification.

"V.I. Lenin Square is currently closed for cleaning."

[Burbyga] Grigoriy Dmitriyevich, rumors are spreading around town that there are corpses in the square....

[Korobov] That is a lie which is being spread for provocative purposes. There hasn't been a single death.

Rumors of Tanks, Deaths Denied

PM0612114988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 4

[Dispatch by "our special correspondents" A. Romanov and A. Teplyuk: "Order Is Order"]

[Text] Baku—On 5 December rumors began to creep out in Baku to the effect that troops had opened fire on participants in a meeting on Lenin square. People had been suppressed by tanks, it was claimed. There were dozens of dead. The rumors heated the atmosphere still further.

The appeals to the participants in the demonstration on Lenin square (it began 17 November in connection with the sharp exacerbation of the "Nagorno-Karabakh question" and has continued virtually round the clock) were not crowned with success. Over the course of 18 days the square and public garden were turned into a hotbed of unsanitary conditions. The threat of an epidemic arose. But this was not the only thing to alarm the authorities.

Many correct and wise words were heard at the meetings, but there were also inflammatory speeches. Rumors became firmly established on the square. The square became a powerful factor in destabilizing the already tense situation. Requests and appeals from the city prosecutor, a priest, and the military commandant to display common sense and leave the square had no effect. Then the authorities decided to resort to the assistance of special subunits.

What actually happened? We saw everything from close by.

At 0300 troops and equipment were brought up to the embankment. The soldiers surrounded the square in a dense square formation. For the last time the sector commandant suggested that the people leave the area. The reply was a refusal, magnified by a loudspeaker. At 0420, following an order, a wall of soldiers approached the demonstrators, of whom there were about 1,000. Threats, insults, and everything which came to hand was hurled against the formation. They began to push the crowd into a corridor which had been left beforehand, at the end of which buses had been made ready.

The operation ended at 0455. Several injured people were sent away on first aid vehicles.

Not a single shot was fired on the square.

In a talk with us I.A. Ismailov, prosecutor of the Azerbaijan SSR, categorically denied rumors of the deaths which had allegedly occurred while the demonstrators were being dispelled.

Baku Descibes Rally Dispersal

LD0512142788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Notice of military commandant of Baku City Special District]

[Text] As you know, for a long time many people have been gathering at Lenin Square and staging round-the-clock illegal meetings. Since danger had arisen from the sanitary point of view, the square required an immediate cleaning and disinfection. (For this reason), several proposals were addressed to young people who spent the night on the square on 4 and 5 December to leave so that the sanitary work could be carried out. The chairman of Baku City Excecutive Committee addressed the young people proposing that they get on buses and leave the square. The procurator of Baku city appealed to them with such a proposal. Since a group of these young people did not leave the square, the commandant of the first area of the Baku City Special District proposed to vacate the square. It was only after this that this action was carried out using special units. Some of those who staged illegal meeting were detained pending identification. At present, Lenin Square is closed for cleaning.

Rumors are being spread that there are allegedly dead bodies on the square and people were killed [words indistinct]. This is a lie and is spread for the purpose of a deliberate provocation. In fact, not a single person was killed. No weapons were used.

I appeal to all residents of Baku and call on them to use restraint and act rationally.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City Special District

1,500 Forcibly Dispersed

LD0512171488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Special correspondents' Islam Kuliyev and Sergey Omelchenko report from Baku]

[Text] [Kuliyev] Last night the last meeting participant left Lenin Square, where unsanctioned gatherings have been continuing for 2 and ½ weeks. By last evening about 1,500 people remained in the square.

[Omelchenko] They were repeatedly asked to disperse, but clearly the people had been thoroughly misled. The chairman of the Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies and a representative of the city procurator's office invited them to leave the square, but this had no effect. Then the commandant of the first sector of the Baku City

Special District gave an order to special subunits to clear the square. Irresponsible elements among those who had gathered attempted to put up resistance. The servicemen fulfilled their mission, and no weapons were used.

The violators of the special situation were evicted from the square. Some of them have been detained until they can be identified. Lenin Square is being put back in order.

[Kuliyev] However, the situation in Baku still remains acute. People have failed to report for work at a number of enterprises. Public transportation is not working. People are gathering in groups in the city center. The attention of small and fairly large gathering of people sometimes is captured by activists of the party rayon committee, sometimes by excited citizens, and sometimes by irresponsible persons and outright provocateurs who are fueling passions and spreading slogans and rumors.

[Omelchenko] The local mass media are informing the population regularly about all events in the city and are dispelling unjustified rumors.

Baku Situation Seen as 'Complex'

LD0512211688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] In the strained relations between the nationalities of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the time has come for responsible acts and responsible actions. For example, all enterprises in Armenia—and there are over 200 of them—although fully operational, cannot satisfy demand. A government commission is providing assistance in Armenia and Azerbaijan to those people who were forced to leave their place of abode. Unfortunately this is a big problem as there are already tens of thousands on both sides. They are being provided with housing, food, clothing, and are being allocated places of temporary residence in boarding houses, hostels, or in administrative buildings. This is almost the most acute problem at the moment. Let us listen to reports from these regions. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Baku.

[Omelchenko] Lenin Square. It is here that the main events of the last 2 weeks have taken place. Rallies and demonstrations, unsanctioned and not permitted by the city authorities, continue day and night. Of course, people are thoroughly fed up with all this; all the same, however, many of them came here every day as if to work, some simply to have a look and to listen. But many people were confused by incredible rumors, conjectures, and various tales. The situation has become particularly strained now that, after numerous exhortations and warnings by the city authorities and the procuracy suggesting that people disperse, special subunits have cleared the square of the people gathered there. And immediately, a mass of new conjectures and new rumors, one more frightening than the other, began to be pegged on to this event—overall, a normal event under conditions of a special situation when rallies and gatherings are not permitted.

I am living in a hotel situated right here on the square. I observed most of the events which took place and I can assure you that nothing extraordinary or tragic or inhumane took place here. Servicemen are on duty here on the square. Introduce yourselves, please.

[Babayev] Sergeant Major Nimat Babayev, [patronymic indistinct].

[Beloklokin] Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Fedorovich Beloklokin.

[Omelchenko] You were present throughout all the events which took place during the last 24 hours. Tell me, what did happen here?

[Beloklokin] People who were holding an unsanctioned rally were warned several times to leave the square. They were provided with transport in order for them to leave to go wherever they needed to go, and they were given time to leave the square. When the square was not cleared, these people were thrown off the square. Force was used but it was used within reasonable limits.

[Omelchenko] Nimat, were there any victims? It was said there were many victims, and so on.

[Babayev] No, there weren't. I can assure you there were none.

[Omelchenko] Well, let me ask Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Vasiliyevich Khristenko to evaluate the situation as it stands now.

[Khristenko] The situation can be appraised as very complex. We, soldiers of the Soviet Army, together with party bodies and Soviet bodies of state power, are trying to stabilize the situation. For this purpose, we are conducting educational work and explanatory work among the population. We are particularly concerned by the thoughtless fanning of rumors, exaggerated rumors.

'Acts of Intimidation' Up Sharply

NC0612072188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

The situation in Baku was under control yesterday. Military units, together with the local party and soviet organs, channeled their main efforts toward obstructing mass violations of law and order and to restoring normal work harmony in the city.

The gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms are taking measures to resolve problems concerning the refugees. Many complaints and requests have been made by them in connection with the question of (?allocation of places) and the material aid provided for them, particularly with the question of transfering their relatives and close acquaintances who are staying in temporary lodgings.

All matters concerning their (?problems) are being resolved by the Council of Ministers committee headed by Comrade Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium.

The number of acts of intimidation of individual citizens, disturbances, and acts of violence has significantly increased. The beating of Armenians and the occupation of vacated houses are continuing without interruption.

A total of 501 individuals have been detained and 66 cars impounded during the curfew hours, and 33 people have been imprisoned. [passage indistinct]

Military units were forced to fire warning shots against those who violated law and order with their hooligan activities during the night. Citizen Behram Salyyev, who lives at No 4 on 1 May (?Street) in [name indistinct] district, was arrested while trying to set fire to a house. The information concerning his case has been conveyed to the investigative authorities.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Yerevan 'Normal,' Problems Elsewhere in Armenia

'Unsatisfactory Ideological Work'

PM0512102988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "According to the Work Schedule"]

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Dec—The Armenian capital is now living a normal workaday life. There are no crowds of passengers at city transport stops, as there were a few days ago, and stores, cafes, and social and consumer enterprises and establishments are open early in the morning.

"All the indications are that the situation is stable," party gorkom First Secretary M. Minasbekyan said. "Life has returned to normal. Industrial enterprises are operating, construction work is in full swing, and classes are taking place at schools and secondary specialized educational establishments. We expect the city to continue in this way in the future."

We went to the knitwear association named for Al. Myasnikyan. For some days now its collective has been working normally, sending the requisite products to people in various parts of the country.

"The enterprises has good 9-month result indicators," association general director R. Bekirska said. "But the November plan was not met—this is due to the fact that last week the enterprise was idle for several shifts. But the collective intends to make it up. How? We will lengthen the shifts and work on Saturday and Sunday."

Construction workers, drivers, and collectives in various industrial sectors intend to work long shifts and days off. Certainly, the city needs a stable working life in order to fill the gaps in production due to stoppages. This is what workers and specialists we have met with have been telling us. People say that the improvement of the situation depends on the solution of the serious problems that have accumulated in the republic.

They have been added to by the question of refugees arriving from Azerbaijan, the curfew, and others. Party workers and plant and factory leaders have a hundred questions to answer. And they are not always finding the right answers. It was no accident that the Armenian Communist Party Central Commitee Bureau session pointed to the unsatisfactory ideological and political work of party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, and soviets in the present situation.

The main thing now is to switch the focus of their activity to labor collectives and residential areas, mobilizing all forces and means of political influence in order to prevent any dangerous developments. The adopted measures include sending information and propaganda groups to the republic's rayons to explain the situation in the region. Several dozen have already been sent out. All this will help ease tension and make the populace better informed.

By and large the situation in Yerevan today is normal. Its inhabitants are meeting the curfew requirements sympathetically and responsibly. In the past two days there have been no incidents connected with observance of the established regime.

At the same time, the situation in some parts of the republic is giving rise to anxiety. The situation has deteriorated in Amasiyskiy and Masisskiy Rayons. The situation in Gugartskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Kalininskiy Rayons is causing particular anxiety. All measures are being taken there to safeguard the population's safety and prevent clashes on ethnic grounds.

Yerevan 3 Dec Events Detailed

PM0512094188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report under the general heading "Yesterday, 3 December"]

[Text] Yerevan—Today's report from the Yerevan military commandant noted that last night patrol services in the controlled sectors checked 612 vehicles and stopped 11; not one was detained. No weapons, explosives, or drugs were discovered during the checks.

The number of people violating the procedures established by the city commandant is decreasing, and Yerevan's population is on the whole carrying out the curfew requirements with understanding and responsibility. The attitude of the locals to the servicemen is mainly loyal.

The latest reports from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Echmiadzin attest to a fairly normal situation. Tension here is being caused mainly by the influx of refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR. They are continuing to flood into the republic. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Refugee Aid Commission told us that yesterday 13,744 people arrived in Armenia and that 1,900 people left Armenia for Azerbaijan the same day.

Under these difficult conditions both republics are starting the process of coordinating joint work. In particular, following numerous complaints that it is very difficult to telephone Azerbaijan from Armenia or Armenia from Azerbaijan in order to find out about relatives and friends, communications workers have issued the Yerevan Central Telephone Center with two extra channels to Kirovabad. Another five channels will be issued very shortly to other communications departments in the city and to the intercity switchboard. Baku has also been allocated five extra channels, and measures are being taken to organize communications on other overworked lines.

Normal work has virtually been restored at Yerevan's enterprises. We were told by N. Grigoryan, first secretary of the Kirovakan party gorkom, that all industrial enterprises, transportation, public catering establishments, and consumer service facilities in that city were operating normally.

People in the republic were satisfied about the report that the USSR Council of Ministers has set up a government commission to provide aid to citizens forced to leave their permanent places of residence. Virtually all Armenian enterprises are collecting money for the refugee aid fund. Special account No 700810, into which anyone can donate money, has been opened at the Yerevan city branch of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. Thousands of inhabitants of the republic's cities and rayons are now taking into their homes those who need help.

Situation Termed 'Stabilized'

LD0512141888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Notice of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] According to Lieutenant General Samsonov, military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District, the situation in the city of Yerevan and in the Armenian SSR has stabilized and is being controlled. Excesses, pogroms, and other criminal acts have not been recorded. Soviet Army and Interior Ministry protection points have been set up in all Azerbaijani villages of Masisskiy and Amasiyskiy Rayons; 179 villages are being guarded throughout the republics; and the normal functioning of the Yerevan-Dilizhan-Idzhevan-Kazakh Highway is being ensured.

A session of the Kirovakan Gorkom has resolved the question of supplying foodstuffs to the Azerbaijani villages of the rayon.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Armenian Republic State Reported

PM0512154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondents A. Sarkisyan and V. Khatuntsev under the general heading: "Time of Responsible Action"]

[Text] Yerevan—The situation in the republic capital remains calm. Economic life is getting into a rhythm. At the end of the week 203 enterprises were fully working. Work had not resumed at only two.

Unfortunately, tension is not diminishing in a number of rayons of the republic.

At a recent Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session there was a detailed discussion of ways to stabilize the situation in the republic. Party and soviet workers and the aktiv of cities and rayons have gone over to a 24-hour regime. Work with the population is being assisted by more than 30 information and propaganda groups, which include prominent scientists and lecturers.

Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, military commandant of Yerevan, has given notice that the time of the curfew will be reduced as of 5 December. During the period since 24 November, when it was necessary to resort to the introduction of this emergency measure, 2,412 people have been detained in the capital and 32 arrested. On the whole, the population is fulfilling the requirements of the curfew with understanding and responsibility.

The local newspapers carry Armenian SSR Council of Ministers reports which state that the flow of refugees from Azerbaijan to Armenia and from Armenia to Azerbaijan has increased in recent days. According to recent data, tens of thousands of people have arrived in Armenia.

A government commission headed by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has started work in the republic. Its tasks include resolving questions of assisting people who have been forced to leave their places of residence. Commission members have been to Razdanskiy Rayon, where families who have arrived from Azerbaijan have been housed temporarily in enterprise and organization boarding houses. Questions of providing them with everything necessary and constructing housing for them are being resolved. The commission has left for Baku.

A refugee aid fund has been set up at the Armenian Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. Its current account is No 700810, and it has already been credited with more than R1 million. The Armenian Charity Union is also active.

Of course, a special role in meeting the republic's needs is played by railroad workers. Throughout these anxious months the collective of the railroad's Yerevan section has maintained exceptional discipline: No one has gone on strike. In the middle of the last 10 days of November there were interruptions in the transfer of trains at Norashen coupling station (Nakhichevan ASSR). Several trains were abandoned because Yerevan locomotive teams were afraid of disturbances at the station after an incident in which an engineer suffered a serious trauma from a stone thrown at the electric locomotive. The tense situation could have considerably worsened the supply of everything needed by the republic, particularly fuels and lubricants. With the help of the transport militia and also with the operational support of a team of specialists from the Ministry of Railways, traffic has gotten into a rhythm and freight is being delivered to its destination on schedule.

"The pace of unloading and loading now has to be increased," V. Asriyan, deputy chief of the railroad section, said. "In connection with the fact that certain enterprises are taking a long time to get going, a considerable proportion of cars has not been unloaded. This is hindering the rhythm of our work."

A rally was held yesterday in the city of Echmiadzin, situated not far from Yerevan. Noting the extraordinary nature of the situation that has been created, speakers from among members of the "Karabakh" Committee called for restraint and prudence. At the same time they voiced dissatisfaction with the steps being taken to settle the Karabakh problem.

Yerevan Curfew To Ease 5 Dec

LD0512172288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Special correspondents Kuryun Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov report from Yerevan]

[Text] [Korotkov] Right now the situation in Armenia can be described as stable. Economic life is starting to operate smoothly. All Yerevan's industrial enterprises were working today. Communal services and the trade network also operated normally. According to figures from the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, there have been many fewer violations of public order in the town. This has allowed the military command to relax the curfew in Yerevan beginning this evening.

At the same time, the situation remains difficult in certain regions of Armenia. Troops currently in populated areas in Kalininskiy, Gugarkskiy, and Stepanavanskiy Rayons are on patrol, protecting national economic installations. There are more than 30 propaganda groups working in villages where Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together. Prominents scientists, cultural figures, and lecturers are discussing the situation in the republic, and steps being taken by the party and government to normalize relations between the nationalities. They are calling for common sense and order.

[Khomaryan] Members of the Karabakh committee speaking at meetings held yesterday and the day before in the towns of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Echmiadzin also called for common sense and restraint. At the same time, they expressed dissatisfaction with the steps being taken to eliminate the Karabakh problem. The refugee problem is a great cause of concern for the population, too. According to the figures of the republic's commission, more than 106,000 people who left their homes in Azerbaijan have arrived in various regions of Armenia. They need housing, clothing, food, and most importantly, work, at least of a temporary nature. Meanwhile, about 15 percent of the able-bodied population in the republic itself do not have jobs because we have been experiencing a shortage of jobs here for many years. Taking into account the growing number of settlers, the country's government has allocated Armenia additional funds for meat, butter, sugar, and other foodstuffs. Every collective and citizen of the republic today is striving to do what he can to help the commissions set up in all rayons. More and more fresh contributions are being added to this amount.

Today we spoke with Alfred Khorenovich Tatevosyan, chief of the main administration of communal enterprises and the services sector of the executive committee of the Yerevan city soviet.

[Begin Tatevosyan recording] Both the organizations dependent on us and the cooperatives that form part of our administration have decided to allocate large sums to this charity fund and to do all they can to help the refugees. Today one can say that we are already able to transfer, and we will continue to do so, about R80,000. The hotel supplies association has given this fund about 1,000 sets of bed linen and various pieces of furniture. [end recording]

Some Areas 'Extremely Dangerous'

PM0512181188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Report from Yerevan by Ye. Kubichev and N. Ordinyan under the general headline: "Brotherhood Dearer Than Anything"]

[Text] Yerevan—Yesterday we met with USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy L. Simonyan, chief technologist at the Kanakerskiy aluminum plant, who had just returned from Moscow.

"Lev Artashesovich, you took part in the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with M.S. Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, and the leaderships of both republics and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. What is the main conviction you took away from this meeting?"

"At the meeting—which lasted for several hours and which was characterized by a profound and all-around discussion of the regional situation with broad consideration for opinions—we, its participants, arrived at the conclusion that if the necessary measures dictated by the situation are not undertaken now, then the situation may become still more serious. And we must be guided here by the radical, vital, long-term interests of our peoples. This is fundamentally important—and the first thing. Second, I wholly share the principle formulated at the meeting by dint of which the process of resolving the issue must not result in 'victors' and 'vanquished,' so that no one is in any way hurt or offended. Indeed, we must find a way out together, for there is no other way."

As was stated at a 5 December meeting with journalists by Colonel M. Surkov, chief of the garrison's political section, during the 10 days of the curfew the situation in Yerevan can be described as calm. Most enterprises have resumed work, and the city's transport is operating. Some 10,395 people have been investigated, 3,245 have been detained, and 49 have been arrested. There have been no incidents or crimes linked to the enforcement of the curfew in Yerevan. However, the situation is extremely dangerous in some areas of the republic. There have been casualties [zhertvy] in Kalininskiy, Masisskiy, and Gugarkskiy Rayons. In this connection, by order of the military commandant, Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, from 2300 hours on 5 December a curfew is being imposed in 14 rayons of the republic with a mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani population. As a result of this there will be a change in the operating regime of industrial enterprises, organizations, institutions, and trade and consumer service facilities. Restrictions are being imposed on the movement of people and transport, and processions and rallies are prohibited. All working people are having strict attendance at work and the fulfillment of their duty imposed on them.

Yerevan Curfew Violations Decrease

LD0612095788 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] It must be noted with satisfaction that the number of curfew violations are decreasing. (?The majority of the population) is observing the curfew requirement with [word indistinct] and responsibility. There have been no incidents or crimes connected with these requirements. The local population's behavior toward the military servicemen is appropriate.

Actual information received from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Echmiadzin demonstrates that the situation in general is normal. The tension here is basically caused by the fate of the refugees arriving from Azerbaijan. Despite this, tension is not decreasing in a number of rayons in Armenia. Illegal operations have been carried out in rayons with a mixed Armenian and Azerbaijani population. Speaking of the situation in the Azerbaijan Republic, a representative of the military command described the situation in Baku. There, thousands of people are continuing to mass in the city square.

A group of hooligans, numbering about 100, have rushed into the local soviet building and interrupted its work. Internal affairs forces threw them out of the building.

The situation continues to be tense in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Aghdam Rayon. Azerbaijanis have been noticed encircling the oblast.

Kalininskiy Raykom Plenum Meets

NC0512101988 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Dec (ARMENPRESS)—The Armenian Communist Party's Kalininskiy Raykom plenum met and discussed oganizational issues.

The plenum relieved (V.S. Srayelyan) from his duties as the raykom's first secretary in order to assign him to other duty.

The plenum cast a secret ballot and elected (Kh. G. Dumikyan,) who was director of the (Metsavan) Sovkhoz in Kalininskiy, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party's Kalininskiy Raykom.

Refugees Continue Their Flight From Republics

Rumors of Mutilated Refugees

PM0512120388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Reply to the Point": "...And 'Severed Ears'"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon we were telephoned by a woman named Olga Ivanovna Ivanova who told us, in a halting voice: Refugees by the thousands are streaming into Baku from Armenia, bearing the marks of savage abuse, even with ears cut off.

Is this true? A question we immediately put to our special correspondent, Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga. Here is what he said:

"I contacted Colonel N. Sukhov, commandant of the railroad area, who said:

"'In the past 2 days we have met trains from Idzhevanskiy, Masisskiy, and other Armenian rayons. No one has noticed anything like that among the arrivals. But there were victims of fights, people with black eyes.'"

Police Lieutenant Colonel B. Katkov, representing Baku Internal Affairs Administration, said: It's all nonsense. Some 300 people arrived yesterday, all of them intact, so to speak. Evidently, certain groups of people are deliberately spreading such rumors. Why do I think that? The rumors disappear too quickly.

Yesterday there were refugees at the Baku City Soviet. They were received by Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku special district. He said: "No one mentioned such incidents."

PRAVDA on Refugee Problem

PM0512145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondents N. Demidov and Z. Kadymbekov under the general heading: "Time of Responsible Action"]

[Excerpts] Baku—Although the situation remains complex, no serious incidents have been recorded in recent days. Order is being maintained not only by the military authorities and law-enforcement organs but also by the capital's conscious, disciplined residents, including former internationalist servicemen who currently are carrying out explanatory work at rallies and in labor collectives. The constant appeals from the republic's party and soviet organs and from authoritative people in Azerbaijan to restore the labor rhythm are receiving a response from the city's residents. As F. Musayev, first secretary of the Baku party gorkom, points out, practically all enterprises were working 2 December. Almost all educational institutions are functioning in the city, transport is getting back to normal, and there are no interruptions in trade or in consumer and other kinds of services for the population. In short, propaganda work is producing results. [passage omitted]

However, complete calm in Baku and the republic is still a long way off, for the largest influx of refugees to Azerbaijan from Armenia has poured in precisely in recent days.

"There are tens of thousands of them," A. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, says. "All must be provided with a roof and food, and some with clothing, too. They left their homes in Armenia suddenly, without bringing even the most essential things with them. They made their way to the border with great difficulty, sometimes crossing passes covered with snow. There are casualties [postradavshiye] among them. According to Azerbaijan Council of Ministers data, 75,000 refugees have already arrived in the republic (in all, since the start of the February events)." The operational situation has required the creation of zonal staffs, which primarily have determined places of temporary residence for refugees—hostels, boarding houses, and administrative buildings—and provided them with essentials. The problem of the immigrants is a serious one, and it has assumed a significant scale. This problem today remains one of the chief causes of the continuing tension in the republic as a whole.

Aid for Refugees From Armenia

NC0612072888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 4 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Reporting on the meeting held by the aktivs of Baku City's Shaumyan Rayon party, an AZERINFORM correspondent disclosed in KOMMUNIST that the representatives of the rayon's industrial establishments, medical centers, and schools have proposed that a special bank account be opened for the construction of residential houses by the rayon's (?work) forces for the refugees from the Armenian SSR. The center set up in the rayon to help the refugees has started its work.

Meanwhile, the newspapers published an interview they held with Verdiyyev, chairman of the Agdam Rayispolkom. He acknowledged that the amount of stress at the zonal center that has been set up to help the refugees is not insignificant. A total of 125 families have been resettled in the rayon center and in a number of villages. Over 1,500 people have been sheltered in neighboring (?Murdashi) Rayon. Schools, hospitals, clubs, and social buildings are being used temporarily as resettlement centers for refugees from the Armenian SSR. Many of the residents have opened their own homes to refugees. The children are immediately being channeled to educational institutions and preschool training establishments. Local soviets are providing material aid and resolving matters related to the employment of individuals and the allocation of individual housing plots to the greatest extent possible.

Armenian Refugee Situation

PM0512100988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko dispatch under general headline: "Yesterday, 4 December"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Government is taking steps to help people find near and dear ones with whom contact has been lost. Troops from the garrison are taking part in this work. Special search parties were dispatched by the command on Sunday morning to the areas of residence of people whose fate is uncertain at the moment.

On the whole the situation in Armenia can be described as stable. Republic party and soviet organs are conducting explanatory work among the population in Artashat, Echmiadzin, Kirovakan, and Leninakan. This work has resulted in a return to work by industrial enterprises and the normal functioning of all municipal services. The situation in certain population centers in Kalininskiy Rayon is more complex. Troops are patrolling and guarding national economic installations.

The influx of refugees is increasing in the republic. Their number has topped 69,000.

The republic faces three serious problems in connection with the refugees—finding housing, food, and jobs for them. It would appear that the problem of finding housing for the refugees ought to be simple to resolve because many Azeris have recently left the republic.

However, the authorities are trying to keep the abandoned houses and apartments empty. These dwellings together with the property they contain are being guarded.

The second problem, the food problem, is today being resolved in Armenia with the assistance of the whole country. Measures to provide food for the refugees have been elaborated in a USSR Government resolution. The republic has been allocated additional funds for meat, butter, and other food products. Steps are also being taken to provide people with at least temporary work. However, the problem is that even without the refugees 14 percent of the able-bodied population in the republic is not employed in public sector production.

B. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and head of the the government commission, yesterday acquainted himself with the organization of the reception, registration, and distribution of refugees.

Shcherbina Meets Armenian Officials

NC0512141488 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] The newspapers report that Shcherbina, chairman of the government commission on aid for people forced to leave their homes in Azerbaijan and Armenia, met yesterday with Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and Vladimir Movsisyan, chairman of the State Commission for Refugees. They met at the Armenian State [word indistinct] Institute, where the organization of the reception, registration, and distribution of refugees from Azerbaijan (?takes place), as well as in (Aghveran) town.

Meetings and discussions were held at the Shushan Hotel with people who have come from various towns in Azerbaijan.

Comrade Shcherbina specifically pointed out that the USSR Government is extremely concerned with the critical situation that has been created in the area and is taking all necessary steps, together with the leaderships of Azerbaijan and Armenia, to stabilize the situation. Steps have been taken to provide food for the refugees, (?as well as) to extend the necessary medical, social, and livelihood assistance.

Suren Arutyunyan told the participants in the meeting about the steps that are being taken in the republic for the settlement of refugees. During the discussions, he emphasized the two republics' [words indistinct], the (?need to safeguard the people's) security, and the improvement of relations between the two peoples, as well as the necessity of reestablishing trust and (?cooperation) in the area.

That same day in the evening, the government commission held a meeting (?during which) concrete measures for the solution of the (?problems faced by the refugees) were discussed.

Tbilisi Hunger Strike Ended 29 Nov

PM0612101288 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 5

[Ia Mukhraneli report: "The Call for Reason Was Heard"]

[Text] Tbilisi—From 21 through 29 November the glory of Tbilisi, Rustaveli Prospekt, looked like a camp under siege. On the staircase of the republican Government House were dozens of young men and women on hunger strike, wrapped in blankets and sleeping bags. People of various ages and various professions were among those out in the Prospekt. The crowd included some who were curious and some provocateurs seeking to provoke conflict. The microphone was never silent, day or night. Transport was at a standstill. All this led to disruption of the working rhythm of the republican capital and interruptions in the work of VUZ's, schools, enterprises, and institutions. In this situation restraint and perspicacity were displayed by the republican government, workers in the law enforcement services, the creative and scientific intelligentsia of Georgia, and party, soviet, and Komsomol workers.

Young people were given the opportunity to express themselves and formulate their attitude to the problems that concern them and to a complex range of demographic, ecological, and social issues.

Every day I listened to speeches outside Government House by students and representatives of informal associations, and I, like everyone else on the Prospekt, was gripped by a complex range of feelings. Civic activeness on the part of young people ought to be pleasing. But often emotion overpowered thought, created an impasse, and led to slogans that are unacceptable in a cultured society that has taken the path of glasnost.

The reason for the hunger strike and the unauthorized rallies lasting many days was the nationwide discussion of the draft laws on amendments to individual articles of the USSR Constitution and on elections of people's deputies. Rustaveli Prospekt was in turmoil. Formal and informal leaders succeeded one another at the microphone.

Many things were discussed—the purity of the Georgian language, demography and culture, the past and present. Some people demanded Georgia's secession from the USSR, some people spoke of the "expansionism" of nonindigenous nationalities and the "problem of physical survival" of Georgians, some put forward slogans like "Georgia for the Georgians." But the majority called for calm, the consolidation of all progressive forces, and the renunciation of extremism. Rumors snowballed as they made their way around the city, skillfully whipped up by certain leaders who lay exclusive claim to the title "fathers of the nation."

People spoke out day and night, naming real problems and real ills uncovered in the atmosphere of glasnost and democracy, as well as far-fetched grievances that are divorced from the real problems of the republic's inhabitants. And from time to time, in this torrent of speeches, people forgot how much has been done just in the last few months. People forgot, or kept quiet about, the activeness of the Georgian public, with the support of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, in discussing the project for construction of the Caucasus highway, which has now been mothballed; they forgot the very broad program for the regeneration of mountain villages, the very important act of adopting the draft state program for the development of the Georgian language, the purposeful efforts of the government and the public in the republic to relocate the firing range near that unique monument of Georgian culture, the David-Garedzhi monastery, and the actions of the whole people in setting up the All-Georgia Rustaveli Society, the Cultural Foundation, the Chavchavadze Society, and so forth.

D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, met with students from various VUZ's. He listened to their opinions and said that all sensible proposals will undoubtedly be taken into account by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Georgian people have long been famous for courage and tolerance, nobility and hospitality. Professor Marika Lordkipanidze, corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, spoke about this in her speech, and dozens of prominent Georgian poets, scientists, and musicians spoke about it, calling on the young people to stop their hunger strike. Mukhran Machaveriani, chairman of the Georgian Writers' Union Board, whose poetry is part of the life of the entire nation, spoke about it to the students; Mukhran Machavariani went to see the students long after midnight on 28 November, appealing to the young men and women to stop their hunger strike. The whole of Georgia joined with the poet's voice, as did Ilya II, Catholicos and Patriarch of All Georgia.

On 29 November, when M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to people's minds and hearts, the appeal to set about concrete work for the sake of the Motherland, was read out to many thousands of Tbilisi people, the students stopped their hunger strike. The city returned to its routine, and Rustaveli Prospekt, the city's great drawing room, is now living its normal life once again.

Belorussian Front Warns Against Anti-Reformists

PM0911171088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 45, 6 Nov 88 p 13

[Interview with writer Vasil Bykov by Leonid Miloslavskiy: "Belorussian Initiative"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Speaking about the political situation in Belorussia, writer Ales Adamovich recalled Vendee, a province in France, which resisted the 1789 revolution ("OGONEK", No 39). The Belorussian press responded with an article calling Adamovich incompetent and poorly informed. A few days later the constituent assembly of Martirolog, a society to commemorate the victims of Stalinism, decided to set up an initiative group of Belorussia's Popular Front. This step by the creative intellectuals generated new publications and discussions. The ideological obstacles to Martirolog's initiative are an alarming suggestion that restructuring in Belorussia is braking, says native writer Vasil Bykov, Martirolog board member and participant in the Popular Front initiative group. Publishing the following interview with Bykov, "MN" stands ready to print opposing points of view.

MN: Vasil Vladimirovich, until now the country knew very little about informal movements in Belorussia. From publications in "VECHEVNYY MINSK" (Evening Minsk), we now know that Belorussians oppose the "anti-popular Popular Front". Its initiators are called extremists, while the Belorussian youth from the Toloka society are labeled nationalists. Many people compare the article about Toloka with crushing prewar journalism. But the article also contains facts, doesn't it?

Vasil Bykov: If you have noticed, there are few facts and even those, in my opinion, are dubious. Mainly they are arguments. Toloka supporters' efforts to revive the Belorussian coat-of-arms and the flag are called nationalistic only because somewhere abroad these symbols are used to rally Belorussian emigrants. Similar accusations are aimed at any attempt to restore Belorussian culture which has been degenerating for decades. These tendencies are not new in the Republic. But when, in the fourth year of restructuring, the press starts openly fighting ethnic self-awareness...that's sad. Even if the Toloka programmes couldn't do without excesses, the experience of the Baltic Republics shows that the most complicated issues can be solved reasonably after sober discussion. By the way, this article isn't just a sign of the past. One of its five signers, A. Filimonov, Doctor of Science (History), is notorious for the subject of his candidate's thesis: "Lavrentiy Pavlovich Benya—Loyal Friend of the Great Stalin...."

MN: But many people agree with these authors and see the main danger in the Popular Front....

Vasil Bykov: You know how the discussion about the Popular Front was organized with the unofficial Sovremennik club? The Party committees of enterprises gathered about 900 people at the political education centre to rebuff the "enemies of restructuring". Among the enemies were the famous Belorussian writer Adamovich and Korotich, Editor-in-Chief of OGONEK, who allegedly came from Moscow specially to make trouble. Adamovich was described as Tel Aviv's hireling, getting dollars from there to maintain two flats—in Moscow and in Minsk—and to bribe Party authorities... "The enemies of restructuring" didn't come (and should not have), but they were rebuffed.

I don't know what our Popular Front will be like or whether it will get off the ground. But I think that such a response from our "ideologists" to a progressive idea will convince many waverers of the need to fight the psychology of stagnation. R. Buzuk, representative of Belorussia's Communist Party Central Committee, was at the Martirolog meeting. He tried to upset the voting when the board was being elected, demanded that he be given the floor. After the voting, when Buzuk was given the floor, it turned out he had nothing to say.

MN: I was told that you then took the microphone and said, pointing to Buzuk: "This is what we must fight!" What, in your opinion, is holding restructuring back in Belorussia?

Vasil Bykov: I wouldn't like to think that Buzuk's work methods and political views are typical of Belorussia's Central Committee. But among the higher authorities there are still quite a few people who think restructuring will be hurt by a revival of ethnic culture. In fact, our people, who have half-forgotten their pride, have yet one more problem, one more pain—Stalinist repressions. It seems strange and horrible to me that today there are some who want to conceal from the people their past which has for so many years lain in Kuropaty graves. Who needs all this? Who needed the crowded meeting in memory of the Kuropaty victims, which incidentally was addressed by party functionaries, was later declared illegal—and its organizers fined? I recall that one of the delegates at the 19th Party Conference said: "We are struggling for restructuring, but what are those bawlers at the meetings struggling for?" Many people consider themselves authors of restructuring while denying others the right to participate. Unless we understand that everyone has the right to his own view, that all ideas at meetings, just as the meetings themselves, have been engendered by restructuring, conflicts are inevitable. For our people the memory of victims is an idea which can unite us in the struggle for restructuring, for the terror of Stalinism never to be repeated again. And the fact that such an association in our country is declared illegal in advance is tantamount to defending Stalinism behind restructuring slogans.

MN: You're speaking about a nationwide assocation. But the Popular Front is opposed (at least in the press) by workers and ordinary citizens.

Vasil Bykov: Unfortunately, not everyone in our country has learned to think independently. Not everyone understands that in order to criticize something, it is necessary to know what that something is about. For too long people have been taught to live according to a general plan, to think in time with slogans, to talk and to keep silent by turns. Therefore, many people today, in order to protest, do not have to understand the situation—the view of the staff functionary from "the ideological commission of the microdistrict" is enough to eliminate in the souls of people everything put there by the books of Adamovich and to declare Adamovich an "enemy of restructuring"....

The situation is alarming. We must do everything for Belorussia not to become the Vendee of restructuring.

Kiev Official Boyko Retires on Pension

AU3011131188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade K.B. Boyko from the position of administrator of affairs in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on pension.

Status of Ukrainian Language Examined

AU2111100088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 3

["Notes made by V. Keybis at a joint session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commissions for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and Interethnic Relations, and for Education and Culture": "Care for One's Own Language"]

[Text] Only 2 or 3 years ago, hardly anyone could have imagined deputies to the republic's highest organ of power gathering to coordinate their political position on the issue of granting the Ukrainian language the status of an official language.

The deputies and invited persons listened to a report delivered by deputy A.T. Zonenko on behalf of the preparatory group of both commissions. Petitions addressed by citizens to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet have been examined. Most petitions express concern about the conditions in which the Ukrainian language finds itself in the republic; they suggest that it be granted the status of an official language, and that the Ukrainian SSR Constitution be amended as appropriate.

The letter from the workers of the Kremenchug motor vehicles plant seems to be absolutely typical:

"We are very disturbed," they write, "by the critical situation as regards the Ukrainian language in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian language has been eased out of higher educational establishments, secondary special schools, the system of vocational and technical education, most schools and children's facilities, material production, and the spheres of spiritual and public life."

Writer Yu.M. Mushketik was the first to take the floor in the discussion. He said that the Union of Ukrainian Writers had also received quite a few letters of this kind. The time has come to deal with this important question. A great deal has to be done at schools. A clause adopted some time ago granted parents a free hand in choosing the language in which their children were to be taught. This clause, which is on the whole a democratic one, has objectively resulted in a situation in which the majority of children practically do not speak their own language.

A law granting the Ukrainian language the status of an official language would, of course, not modify this serious problem overnight, but it would help to reinforce its prestige and would help to develop it.

Writers A.N. Pidsukha, I.F. Drach, and D.V. Pavlychko took the floor. They were doing so not only because language is their "means of production," D. Pavlychko said. In the past too Ukrainian men of letters, standing up for the full-blooded existence of their own language, sometimes used to be reproached for allegedly only being concerned with their own narrow interests, their own royalties, and the shrinking circle of their readers....

Now it is obvious that this is not the case. Among those standing up for their own language are not only the creative intelligentsia and scientists, but also the workers class, machine operators, and plowmen.

In this connection, the speech delivered by Deputy V.S. Sintsov, worker from Ivano-Frankovsk, was remarkable. As a Russian, he actually spoke in Russian, but in defense of the Ukrainian language. He said that the Ukrainian language did not have any practical application in the sphere of production. And even when people speak Ukrainian privately among themselves, they use Russian almost without exception at work: all technical documents, information, reference books, and textbooks are in Russian.

What the speakers were all talking about was, of course, not the intention to replace the use of the Russian language, or discrimination against this language. They emphasized the Leninist idea of equality among languages, and spoke about the need to develop the languages of all nationalities living in the republic, including Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Crimean Tatars, Gagauzes, Moldavians, and others. Deputies P.T. Tronko and V.I. Shinkaruk, both members of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, particularly emphasized the need to go back to the Leninist principles and precepts of the nationality policy in order to fill the common socialist treasury with the full richness and color of national cultures, and to enhance internationalism. The participants in the discussion spoke with concern about formal and bureaucratic distortions that have been incurred in the field. This applies even to the colloquial status of the Ukrainian language: at some railroad stations and airports one can hardly hear announcements in one's own language, and on motor bus routes the signs are not in two languages.

Language is a live organism. It can live and develop normally only under favorable conditions, on suitable fertile ground, which includes the nurturing of national traditions, the protection of the people's historical roots, and the practice of everyday life, work, and study.

If Ukrainian is spoken in the family it is a guarantee that the children will know the language, will be willing to learn it better and to use it. This in particular was said by deputy M.V. Fomenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of public education. In his opinion, in a matter as sensitive as language policy, administrative methods of dealing with problems must not prevail; it is essential to adopt a comprehensive attitude, and in all vital questions to take into account the immeasurably increasing role of the local authorities, of public opinion. For example, public school councils will soon determine the language that is to be used in teaching. In a word, there is a great deal to do.

All the speakers—teachers, architects, and artists—assumed active positions, and showed a lively interest in the destiny of their own language.

"Since there is the Soviet state of the Ukraine, as we sing in our state anthem, Ukrainian should be an official language," said poet B.I. Oleynik, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Education and Culture.

The session was addressed by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. She emphasized the importance of the issue being discussed. It should be settled without haste, and without detriment to the interest of people living in the republic. As far as the granting of the status of an official language is concerned, it is a constitutional issue. A law is now being drafted on amendments and additions to the Ukrainian

SSR Constitution. The draft will be discussed publicly. The position of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo with regard to the language problem was set forth at the October plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. We will create all the conditions for a harmonious and natural development of native language-Russian bilingualism, and for the active application of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of state, public, and cultural life. Representatives of all nations and nationalities living in the republic will by all means be encouraged to learn the Ukrainian language.

Deputy L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, said that, in making efforts to develop the Ukrainian culture and language, it was essential to take into account the interests of the millions of people of other nationalities living in the republic.

The two commissions resolved to petition the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to perfect legislation on interethnic relations, and to amend the Ukrainian SSR Constitution by granting the Ukrainian language the status of an official language, while fully ensuring the principle of native language-Russian bilingualism and the free development and functioning of the languages of other national minorities living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

Kazakhstan Aids Minority Language Studies

PM1111130988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent G. Kulagin: "Let's Speak My Language"]

[Text] Alma-Ata Oblast—At the request of inhabitants of Azerbaijani nationality special language laboratories for the study of their native language have been opened in two secondary schools in the village of Chemolgan, Alma-Ata Oblast. Polish children from Kokchetav Oblast can now study their native language. Kurds and children of other nationalities now also have the same opportunity. And teachers are being trained for German schoolchildren in a number of the republic's VUZ's. A section to produce newspaper, radio, and television journalists fluent in the national languages has been set up in the Kazakh State University Journalism Department.

This experiment is extremely important for Kazakhstan, where representatives of 114 peoples, large and small, live, often in long-established enclaves. Many people have recently shown a desire to study their own national languages.

The desire to revive and develop the unique traditions, ceremonies, and cultures of the peoples is increasingly felt. There is a professional German theater in Temirtau, for example. Turkish and Uigur amateur artistic collectives exist in Alma-Ata Oblast and a Greek ensemble has just announced its creation there. This does not mean, however, that the problems of national and ethnic relations in the republic have been solved. The soviets are responding to these interests and are helping organize matters.

A standing commission in charge of national and ethnic relations was set up at the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet in April. Such commissions have also appeared in oblast soviets, and in local organs of people's power there are already around 60 deputy working groups that represent the interests of the ethnic groups living on the soviet's territory. Relying on these structural formations, the Supreme Soviet commission has begun to study the situation at local level in greater depth and to make more considered and effective decisions.

"The commission recently discussed the procedure for detecting and examining specific problems among nationalities living outside their state territorial formations or not possessing such," D. Akhmedzhanov, chief of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium department concerned with questions of national relations, told your TASS correspondent. "It deemed it essential to complete the creation under soviets at various levels of commissions on national and ethnic relations and similar formations as well as deputy working groups and to ensure energetic activity on their part. This will make it possible to identify in good time and respond promptly to problems concerned with the implementation of constitutional guarantees, political and social rights, and the interests of any nationality in any sphere. And the main thing is to do this without harming the representatives of other ethnic groups. I think that this system which is becoming fully established here should be set up in all union republics."

Alma-Ata Popular Front Congress Mocked

PM0212113988 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA own correspondent A. Samoylenko, specially for KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "The 'Declaration' Is One Thing, Reality Is Something Else. In Whose Name Does the 'Alma-Ata Popular Front' Act?"]

[Text] Nothing had happened yet; we, the "invited press," were milling around in the hall looking at the bustling founder members who were given a new sense of urgency by the rumor that was circulating: Banned! Banned by the chairman of the Council of Ministers himself. Apparently he telephoned the janitor and ordered him not to let anyone in! And suddenly I got the impression that the founder members had anxiously adopted an aura of semilegality, of some opposition movement....

But let us look at everything in the proper order. Without any hindrance at all the founder members calmly settled down in one of the House of Scientists' rooms, and sheets of paper with the significant headline "Declaration by the 'Alma-Ata Popular Front'" appeared on the tables....

It looked as if we, the "invited press," were going to be treated like casual bystanders (at least they gave us chairs). Nobody bothered to explain why we were called, who was assembling there, and for what purpose. The founder members were unwilling to even introduce themselves. Never mind, we sat down, reading the "declaration" and somewhat curious as to who was going to found, as announced, the said "Alma-Ata Popular Front"—and how.

Who were the initiators, as a matter of fact? Why were they so diligently maintaining an atmosphere of anonymity before us? No surnames were mentioned, and we could not understand which "people" they represented!

With great difficulty, going by half-heard scraps of conversation, we managed to identify the "interests" of those who had assembled. Some represented a "green front," some sort of informal "referendum" association, others were like Kipling's cat that walks all by itself, while yet others were still looking to find some "interest" or other.

But this did not seem to bother the organizers, for they were engrossed in the solemnity of the moment. About a handful or so of young people—some of them total strangers to one another—had focused their attention on the charman of the "constituent congress" who proclaimed that the "Alma-Ata Popular Front" had been founded and congratulated all present on this occasion. There was no applause, however, for everyone was silent and, I must say, obviously indifferent to this event.... Vaudeville? A boring comedy?

Wait a moment, none of this is all that innocent or inoffensive.... They got on with the business of founding, but I could not get out of my mind the rumor about the "telephone call by the chairman of the Council of Ministers" to the House of Scientists' janitor. And not just because such a telephone call sounded improbable. Why the chairman of the Council of Ministers of all people? Somewhat in anticipation of events, let me say that the "report" proved to be a deliberate lie pursuing a single goal: to create among those assembled a feeling of courageous opposition, of readiness for martyrdom..... Some of those young people, therefore, were willing to create a confrontation from the very beginning: "we" and "they," and yet the "front" is—and I see this as its main feature—politically ignorant: Don't they know who deals with ideology, the Council of Ministers or the Central Committee? Obviously not, and this was why they used the familiar surname. Look and see who is afraid of us!

But the "congress" went on, and in quite a strange fashion at that. Some three of four persons were engaged in a conversation comprehensible only to themselves, while the rest sat quietly, switching their eyes from one "orator" to another. They said that it was necessary to join in the discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR.... That was also amusing, for the whole country has been actively discussing the drafts for a long time now.

Suddenly they started talking about something else, saying that the Law on the Procedure for Holding Rallies, Marches, and Demonstrations is undemocratic and that it fetters initiative. Whose initiative? About 15 young people, having only just institutionalized themselves under the auspices of the word "THE PEOPLE," say not without a certain cockiness and arrogance that it is necessary to take a stand toward this law.... What a familiar picture! How many times has it happened at history's turning points that some people, with a clear-cut program and objectives which really express the people's interests, have unsparingly gotten down to practical work, while others have freely engaged in armchair debates, bandying around words like "the people," "history," "democracy".... Far be it from them, however, to recall past history or at least to try to take a detached look at themselves.

Let us take a look at the "declaration":

—"The 'Popular Front' must unite the progressive forces of the CPSU."

—"The party is fighting with itself."

—"There is no unity among working people in support of restructuring."

—"The 'Alma-Ata Popular Front' perceives political democracy as the main means for resolutely awakening the human factor, the priority factor, the No 1 factor in the economy."

My first reaction is stupefaction. The CPSU is the initiator, practical organizer, and leader of restructuring, glasnost, and democracy. It has launched a vigorous process of self-purification and is reinforcing its ranks with new cadres devoted to the cause of restructuring. Moreover, how can the "popular front," which consists of 15 or so young inhabitants of Alma-Ata, place itself above the CPSU, and how does it propose to unite the party's "progressive forces"? What, in actual fact, are they planning to do?

Any person of sound mind knows what the CPSU is fighting for today and what it is combating. And this work of the party is meeting with understanding throughout the world. Suddenly, these people have come up with the idea: "The party is fighting with itself".... Is this perhaps a reference to the process of self-purification and self-reinforcement? Incidentally, why should I try to solve this crossword puzzle of sensational phrases peppered with exclamation marks which evidently are to compensate for what they lack in clarity of thought and precision of political slogans?

I raise my eyes from the "declaration,"—this concentrated product of the "political wisdom" of the founder members. Do they not see it? Does nothing in the "document" seem strange to them, and are they not even embarrassed at the grammatical mistakes? They only have one concern: Should they adopt it as it is, or as a basis for further elaboration? I am looking at these people and thinking: What is the matter with them? Are they acting under hypnosis? How could it have happened that some of them, having started with specific good causes, have ended up here at the "constituent meeting" where an attempt is being made to befuddle their minds with pseudopolitical gibberish under the title "Declaration of the Alma-Ata Popular Front in Support of Restructuring"? Were they really promoting progress yesterday yet today are sitting here in a crowded room holding forth about the party, democracy, and the people? And there is clear evidence in this of critical undertones, snobbism, and intolerance of other people's views.

Turning to the person next to me, I ask: Where did this "document" come from? What superbrains compiled it? And I heard something that nearly made me fall off my chair. This document which the Alma-Ata founder members present as the fruit of their own thought has been taken from the Moscow "popular front members".... What can you say to that?

Suddenly I hear a familiar name—Khudenko! What is this? It is indeed the selfsame Ivan Nikiforovich Khudenko about whose life and system of management that scientists, writers, and journalists have written so much, especially in the last few years. What are the front's founders getting at? Quite seriously they claim that they want to find out whether he has any followers in Alma-Ata, what they are doing, whether they need any help? Here the faces of the "invited press" reflect disappointment. I am sure that each one of us journalists wanted to shout: "Subscribe to newspapers and read them!" And it does no harm to watch television from time to time! Incidentally, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA recently front-paged an article which reported that Khudenko's followers had been allocated a sovkhoz to continue their work on the land. And suddenly I find myself among people (who, no doubt, regard themselves as learned and well-informed) who have never heard or read about this.... And if that is so, then what do they need Khudenko for? But they do need him. I am convinced that they need him because they want to be associated with a well-known name in the hope that some of its popularity will rub off onto their "popular front."

The excessive energy of the front's founders needs an effective outlet, and so another alarming hypothesis is launched: It is planned to bring into Alma-Ata for the construction of the metro 10,000 construction workers of the Main Administration for the Construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad. Because these workers will have to be allocated apartments immediately, the city's "Housing-91" program is in jeopardy. This must be prevented! The "Housing-91" program must be saved!

I looked at my colleagues and they looked at me: one more earth-shattering piece of news! Next morning we checked with the municipal authorities. It emerged that it is planned to bring in 300-350 metro construction specialists, while the rest of the construction workers will be locals. And so again it is rumor and hearsay. What a fine job the founders of the "popular front" have found for journalists—checking out fabrications which they present as information which furnishes food for thought. In general, something very old and familiar can be glimpsed in the tactics of this "popular front": a desire—to be specific—to hoist their banner above good causes created by others, to espouse other people's ideas, to present themselves as champions of something that is already viable and developing freely even without them. Republic party and soviet organs have handed dachas, private residences, hotels, and cars over for public use, and many special-goods-distribution outlets have been closed down. And now the "popular front" is trying to jump onto the bandwagon by calling: "We will restore social justice! Down with privileges!"

Having caused a stir and cheered each other up with fabrications about Khudenko-followers in dire need of help and 10,000 "migrant construction workers," they then disperse. And the "invited press" is left utterly perplexed and confused. What was this?! Where are the "people" here? What does "assistance to restructuring" consist of? And what, in general, are they planning to do in the future?

I decided to put these questions to the man who had chaired the "constituent congress," Sergey Aleksandrovich Duvanov, staffer at the republican State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and leader of the unofficial socioecological association known as "Initiative."

We spoke for a long time and about many things.... About the strange weakness of the members of the "popular front" for concocting sensational gibberish (to make an impression, perhaps?) so as to appear better informed and more knowledgeable than others. About who is paying lip service to loyalty to the party's cause, while in practice whipping up an atmopshere of opposition and confrontation—and why. About the question by what right these young people claim to be speaking on behalf of the people. This conversation did not pass without "discoveries" which greatly astounded me and embarrassed Sergey Aleksandrovich. It emerged that our "populists" ["narodniki"; Russian term traditionally applied to Marxism-inspired left-wing social revolutionaries active in Russia toward the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th centuries] have no proper idea of how many of them there are, and this is by no means because there are a great many of them. There are about.... 7 activists. Those who came numbered 27. And all in all.... "Well, about 40 people at least," Sergey Aleksandrovich estimates, and adds: "I know it looks unimpressive." It is true that he understands everything and he is honest, to give him his due, although I can see how very embarrassing he finds it to speak about these "weaknesses." He admits that there are extremists in "the ranks" and that it is necessary to expel them and to struggle for the purity of these "ranks." But how this struggle should be waged is not clear: There is no program, no statutes, and the declaration is borrowed....

It is to be hoped that the attempt to engage in a political game is just a belated reaction to the "rally" stage of restructuring. The center of gravity of all our work is clearly shifting from discussions and debates to the sphere of practical, constructive efforts which continue to make up the living fabric of democracy. However, not a democracy which, instead of the collective elaboration of correct and clear-cut decisions and specific actions, waters down the principles of our present-day life arrived at through sweat and tears in the struggle against routine, a democracy which tends to get bogged down in the mire of mutual recriminations and false ambitions.

At the end of our conversation Sergey Aleksandrovich asks me not to write about the "constituent congress": "It will look like a caricature".... I tell him that such a request is inappropriate: It is for the journalist to decide what to write and what not to write. As for the caricature, these lines have nothing to do with it. The caricature emerged earlier, in the course of the "constituent congress" of the "popular front." And that, in a manner of speaking, is your problem.

Altay Raykom First Secretary Voted Out

PM2411162188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent S. Brovashov report under the rubric "Party Life: Reports and Elections": "Vote of No Confidence"]

[Text] Altay Kray—Theoretically such a thing had always been possible. But such a thing had not happened for many years in report and election practice in Altay Kray. Delegates to the Burlinskiy Rayon party conference denied CPSU Raykom First Secretary V. Sotnikov the right to be a member of the raykom's new composition. There were 250 votes against out of 371.

An unusually large number of "black balls" was cast against both Raykom Organizational Department Chief A. Kolomutitsa and Ideology Secretary V. Lisitsa. They still kept their posts. But the conference delegates denied First Secretary V. Sotnikov their trust after he had headed the rayon party organization for 10 years.

For many people the change of leader, not planned "from above," was more unexpected than a bolt from the blue. The holding of an organizational plenum was deferred for several days, and the editorial office of the rayon newspaper has still not received the conference materials. Party Kraykom Secretary G. Sivchenko hurriedly went to the rayon and cooled the investigative ardor of Kraykom Inspector V. Sorokin, who was on the point of mounting an inquisition: How did such a thing happen?

Indeed, how?

...The tape cassette with a recording of the debate on the report turns slowly. The audience grows animated precisely when criticism is heard. N. Vysochin, a teacher at Tsvetopolskaya School: "I propose to regard the party raykom's work as unsatisfactory. I propose not to include any former bureau members in the new raykom's composition at all." Pensioner I. Vcherashniy: "How many times we have invited you to party meetings, Vladimir Vasilyevich. You have not attended once in 10 years." V. Kulinich, machine operator on the "Peschanskiy" Sovkhoz: "I will vote against Sotnikov in the firm conviction that restructuring will only benefit from this."

V. Sotnikov heard no kind words addressed to him that day. Of course, Vladimir Vasilyevich had known and felt on the eve of the conference that there would be criticism, serious criticism. But such criticism! Party Raykom Secretary V. Lisitsa, who had been entrusted with running this forum, felt even before the recess that events were "getting out of control." And in the recess she approached one or other of those with whom she had run through their speeches in advance and who might say something positive. But they no longer had any wish to take the microphone.

When it had all been done and the first secretary had been blackballed, as the saying goes, each Communist explained the events in his own way. Some reached the conclusion that people who had "suffered" in one way or another in the past were in the vanguard of the critical onslaught. It was a settling of scores, they said. They cited examples. A. Bogatyrev, a controller on the "Ustyanskiy" Sovkhoz, was said to have earlier been expelled from the party. He was reinstated following intervention from above. And V. Kulinich, machine operator on the "Peschanskiy" Sovkhoz, is his confederate and coauthor of many letters to central organs. Yu. Teslenko, deputy chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association, had also been punished along party lines. But the fact remains: Consider, all who had a reputation among the raykom apparatus workers for "rocking the boat" were conference delegates.

I consider this opinion far more convincing: The raykom apparatchiks, including Organizational Department Chief A. Kolomutitsa, Secretary V. Lisitsa, and V. Sotnikov himself, had painstakingly prepared the protocol part of the conference and seen no need to organize preelection meetings with people. They knew that many criticisms had been made of the raykom officials during the reports and elections in primary party organizations, but the apparatus workers had not even discussed them or made any preparations to report on the measures taken either before or during the conference. A striking disdain for the collective opinion of party members!

I also heard it said that Sotnikov had suffered for adhering to administrative-edict methods of leadership. He strove for a great deal in his work. Using which methods? Just one: the maximum concentration of power in his hands. It was not for nothing that even the report, which V. Sotnikov himself had written, said nothing but a few general phrases about the services or mistakes and shortcomings of other members of the bureau and the party raykom.

I read the report. It resembles a report on the rayon's economy larded with appeals to "step up," "improve," "raise"... It was evidently proposed that these figures would determine the course of the debate and direct it into a "technological" channel. It turns out that figures alone are not enough now. Communists want the party committee to be not an economic administration but an organ of political leadership.

I know that, listening to the speakers, Sotnikov concurred: Yes, we must regard living work with people and their interests and sentiments as of paramount importance and "work up" a democratic style. The first secretary was too late with his correct conclusions! Perhaps just by those few months which he should have devoted not to office preparations for the conference but to live contact with Communists and nonparty people, as the election campaign proposes.

The tape cassette turns, and critical balls fly. And all against the first secretary. In compiling the report, as already stated, he himself had left other members of the elected organ out of the picture, and the speakers followed his example.

Something else is alarming too: There was, alas, no mention of how to live and work in the future. There was no end of sharpness, but no constructiveness. The aim of many speakers struck me as flawed: Let us replace the party leaders in the rayon, they said, and restructuring will move into top gear by itself. A dangerous illusion!

For there is, for example, this question. What if the housing program for 1988 has been ensured materially by just 7 percent? And again. Yes, V. Sotnikov had been drastic to make it so that almost all the grain was handed over to the state. Had he not done so on orders from above? Yes, he had built a sumptuous mansion in the middle of Burla. But again with permission from above. True, the report was bad. And yet it had been discussed in draft form both at a plenum and in the sections. Why had it been approved almost without comment?

I listen to the tape recording over and over again and read the report carefully. V. Sotnikov was probably far from being the worst first secretary of the party raykom, and the once backward rayon now occupies the top lines on many counts in the kray summaries. He was a typical first secretary for his time. But we are now in different times. It is a pity he missed the turn when he should have changed his work style. The April turn.

Further Reportage From Soviet Baltic Republics

Reactions to New Laws Reported

PM0512115688 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Telephone reports from special correspondents Major Yu. Rubtsov in Vilnius, Captain 3d Class V. Urban in Tallinn, and Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh in Riga, under the general heading "On the Line—the Baltic"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Yesterday the newspapers published the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR. Today the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies is published. The decisions of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session, which adopted these laws by a huge majority after the nationwide discussion and with amendments and clarifications, give the green light, to use M.S. Gorbachev's metaphor, for radical transformations of the country's political system.

We asked our special correspondents in the Baltic to tell us how the session's decisions were received in the region. It is well known that in the course of the discussion of the draft laws differing views were expressed here, including the most extreme views, up to and including rejection of certain provisions.

Much Work Lies Ahead

[Major Yu. Rubtsov report] Vilnius, 3 Dec—I hear unfeigned tiredness in the voice of my interviewee—S. Khokhlanova, fitter at the "Vilma" production association. Only yesterday she returned from Moscow, where she took part, as an elected representative of the people, in the work of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session.

"My impressions?" Svetlana Valeryanovna repeats my question. "I still have to give some real thought to the work that was done. You know that the people of Lithuania expressed varying views about the draft laws submitted for discussion. And how many debates there were during the session itself! The voters' instructions were also varied. Some people suggested to us: If the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution is adopted, get up and leave the hall. I was not going to do that, but, I will be honest, I abstained from voting.

It seems to me that that was the most appropriate way to express my voters' opinion. But since the law was adopted, that means we must all fulfill it. Therefore much work lies ahead."

"The decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet session enable us to plunge into the political reform mapped out by the 19th all-union party conference"—that is the opinion of Major A. Sokolov, retired, executive secretary of the military science society at the Vilnius Officers' Institute. "In my view the most important thing of all is that full power is being restored to the soviets. At least the renewal of the soviets' structure and the greatly changed electoral system inspire optimism."

Major Ionas Tiryavichus, another interviewee, is a Lithuanian. He lived in the Urals for a while. He received his military education in the Ukraine. Now he serves in the land of his forefathers. He has passed through a good school of internationalism and in this respect has taken in the best traditions of three fraternal peoples.

"I cannot but be anxious about the deterioration in ethnic relations—which was spoken of with distress at the session—in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. And here in the Baltic region too, to be frank, not everything is as it should be. The call that has come from Moscow to show wisdom and restraint is therefore apposite."

For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that by no means all the people of Vilnius have understood in depth the decisions adopted at the session in Moscow. Some people have not yet had time fully to study the documents, while for some the arguments of those who spoke from the platform at the session were insufficiently convincing.

And another observation. The local newspapers are very restrained in their publications about the results of the session. Although several days have elapsed since it ended, no reactions are to be seen in the newspapers yet.

A Quota on...Different Opinions

[Captain 3d Class V. Urban report] Tallinn, 3 Dec—A rally of the International Movement was held in Tallinn yesterday. There was no preliminary announcement of it in the press. For comparison: Any significant event involving the Estonian People's Front is usually announced beforehand in the newspapers.

Another characteristic detail. Criticism of the central press has been stepped up both by the Estonian People's Front and by certain mass media. Rude caricatures of PRAVDA have appeared in local newspapers published in Estonian. So the quota limit on a differing opinion is still firmly in force in Estonia.

When Central Television transmitted a program from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session which deemed invalid the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution adopted on 16 November by an extraordinary Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session, the local television channel was "busy" with an entertainment program.... Such are the vagaries of glasnost!

As yet, a genuine desire to consolidate forces can be seen only on the part of the United Council of Labor Collectives. Others lack a sense of political ethics and elementary tact, and the desire to pin labels on people prevails. On the eve of the founding conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives, the People's Front set up pickets outside the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Enlightenment. The representatives of workers' collectives had to enter the building by the back door. In the end the conflict was settled, but of course the conference delegates were left with an unpleasant aftertaste.

It must be noted that the founding conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives supported the decisions of the extraordinary 12th USSR Supreme Soviet Session. There are also positive reactions from supporters of Interdvizheniye [the International Movement]. Although on this question too it must be admitted that public opinion is divided. As Major General E. Paulman, retired, a well known figure in the republic, said in a talk with me, the fact that parochial arrogance is hampering the cause is clearly a failure on the part of the party organizations.

And how did the working week go? All the enterprises are working. But here, I think, I should cite the opinion of N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Speaking at the United Council of Labor Collectives founding conference, he noted, in particular, that the unstable moral atmosphere in the republic has already led to a fall in labor productivity and other production indicators.

Yes, many people acknowledge the complexity of the situation. But unfortunately not many concrete steps are being taken to overcome it in the republic as yet.

The Usual Rhythm

[Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh report] Riga, 3 Dec—The attention of the public here is focused first and foremost on the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution that was adopted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. During the period of discussion of this document the population, especially the Latvian population, found many points unclear, and opinions were even expressed—and signatures collected for a petition—that it does not accord with the task of developing the socialist self-management of the people.

M.S. Gorbachev answered many of the questions that concern the republic's inhabitants in his report at the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session. Great attention was also paid to the speech by A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the session.

I walked through the capital's streets. The city is operating in its normal working rhythm. Only in some places, outside the Riga gorispolkom among others, can one see a few people picketing. This is a picture we have become accustomed to recently. Each of them has on his placard his demand or his own assessment of what is happening. On one placard, held by a wman no longer young, I read: "You cannot build a rule-of-law state by gendarme methods!" The inscription was in Latvian, and the woman holding the placard was also a Latvian. To be frank, the words on the placard astonished me. In a period of democracy and universal glasnost, it seemed simply absurd to say such things. But nonetheless....

The woman holding the placard refused to make any comment, but later an official told me on this point:

"These are actions by individuals. Even, perhaps, people who have their own scores to settle with the people's power. But these people do not in any event reflect the opinion of the whole people...."

Local Media Has Pro-Sajudis Bias

PM2111200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 8

[A. Chernenko article under the rubric "USSR Is Our Common Home": "Verbiage Versus Truth"]

[Text] Glasnost today is acquiring not just full-fledged "citizenship" but also amazing speed (if it is possible to put it this way). Readers, listeners, and viewers react to events with lightning speed! Without this feedback a journalist's work is unthinkable.... However, is this "feedback" always fully reflected in the mass media without anything being "edited out"?

What I am referring to, of course, is the qualitative aspect of the sum of sociopolitical ideas and concepts put forward by readers, their expressions of disagreement or support, and their assessments, rather than the arithmetical sum of their telephone calls, letters, and cables to the editorial office. Unfortunately, not all these opinions find their way onto newspaper pages or the airwaves....

S. Pasko, member of the Estonian "Dvigatel" plant party committee, writes: "...no one wants to listen to the workers' voice any more. Thus the resolution of our party conference, which we submitted to the mass media, was not published despite all our efforts." Lithuanian television viewers write: "You get the impression that 'Sajudis" [Lithuanian Popular Front] viewpoint is the ultimate truth.... 'Sajudis' and nothing but 'Sajudis.' What kind of democracy of opinions is this?"

Newspapers are not elastic, as is well known—it is impossible to cram everything in. And the daily television and radio schedule is also subject to rigid time limits.

The question arises: Does pluralism not suffer as a result of this? Are individual editors not narrowing the range of collective opinion? Is this not another mechanism to "regulate" glasnost?

You will agree that these are questions of fundamental importance in an era of most complex restructuring processes, in an era of a revolution of the spirit when many people are scared of anything new, anything unfamiliar.... but when it is also possible for dubious ideas to become a permanent "presence" on newspaper pages or television screens through bad editorial practice.

And when it comes to the coverage of extremely contradictory processes in "interethnic relations," a critical situation sometimes results, as the experience of recent months has shown.

...Undoubtedly, the phone-in with the Latvian Popular Front organized by the republic newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH (20 October 1988) was an unusual event. This was probably the first time that questions were posed in this way, and the answers too were rather frank. The point is not that it is impossible to agree with everything in this long feature, but that the discussion followed a predetermined, set course, as it were.... The information contained in both the questions and the answers was essentially the same. And the editorial stance was lacking.

One of the participants in the debate, Yanis Dinevich, a representative of the front, was asked why there are few workers in the Popular Front. Dinevich replied: "Your question seems to me to be echoing the former class approach. In the current situation in our society this is by no means the best approach.... Attempts to resolve socially important problems by means of the class approach amount in practice to an attempt to drive a wedge between the various strata of the population."

So there. It is not a matter of calling Dinevich's personal viewpoint into question, of course. Everyone has a right to a personal viewpoint. But his answer simply begs for some kind of assessment (a class, Marxist assessment, to be precise). As a minimum, respect on the part of the representatives of the intelligentsia for more than just their own opinion is required.. What was needed was an alternative stance.... Instead, alas, came the next question. And it too—a question about the fact that many hostile statements in respect of another nation were made at the Latvian Popular Front Congress—was left "hanging in the air." The question was answered by Edgar Melkisis: "I also disagree with much that was said.... But maybe we have simply not yet gotten used to glasnost?.." So there!

Clearly, the young journalists who recorded the phone-in tried to be objective. But did they succeed? Is not glasnost becoming a one-way street?

What is the overall situation as regards glasnost? In Estonia, for instance, the Popular Front is a "presence" in all the mass media while the "International Movement" is unable to describe its aims either in the press or over the airwaves....

Let's be frank and admit that the young people's press frequently sets an example of boldness and principledness to older colleagues. This is quite natural. However, sometimes this boldness takes on a somewhat different form. It smashes not just stereotypes but also the outlines of common sense.

Take for instance the "Debating Club" feature in the Armenian youth newspaper KOMSOMOLETS of 1 November 1988 entitled "Restructuring and the Nationalities Question."

Again it is a most interesting and meaningful discussion. Much of it is incontrovertible. But here is the view of one of its participants—N. Rudenskiy, a USSR Academy of Sciences Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography staffer....

Halfway through the debate the contention is that Stalinism deliberately and "purposefully eliminated the upper strata of the people"—that is, the intelligentsia—in all the republics.

N.Rudenskiy: **Clearly in all republics with the exception of Russia** (the emphasis is mine—A.Ch.).... And further on, he states even more explicitly: "...it is difficult to single out individual republics where the struggle against nationalism was not waged as a political task—and at that time political tasks very quickly became the job of punitive organs. **This happened everywhere, with Russia as a notable exception....**"

However, in the long editorial commentary there is no reference to the "opinion of the scientist" who excludes the Russian people from the nationwide tragedy of the thirties and the forties. There is no mention of the fact that N. Rudenskiy's claims do not correspond to the historical truth and that they deliberately, thoughtlessly, or out of a lack of scientific integrity distort the tragic fate of the Russian intelligentsia during the period of the personality cult. That is to say, the objectivity of the candidate of sciences goes unquestioned when he puts forward his false thesis that the Russians emerged unscathed against the backdrop of facts such as the treatment of the Crimean Tatars, "the annihilation in 1948 of the entire Jewish professional intelligentsia," "the destruction of the upper stratum of the nations in West Ukraine, West Belorussia, Moldavia...."

I am dwelling in such detail on these two features in the youth press above all because in the guise of a demand for "pluralism of opinions" they contain ideas which destroy this very pluralism.

An author may, for various reasons, reject the class nature of society or belittle the Russian people's share in the suffering of the Stalin repressions. But a newspaper is obliged, at the very least, to provide an alternative view to restore the balance. Otherwise we will soon sink into the terminology which is already being used by the editors of the BYULLETEN SYEZDA, published in Lithuania by "Sajudis." In its 22 October 1988 issue they printed a word which has not been used since Tsarist times. "Lithuanians and **aliens** [inorodtsy]...." In the 72d year of Soviet power they have revived this profoundly insulting term "alien"!

This is only a "homespun rag." But is it appropriate, for instance, for authoritative Baltic newspapers, discussing the contention that the republic's national language should be the only state language, to debar from publication a reader's quite reasonable but for some reason "unacceptable" view. "In multinational Switzerland German, Italian, and French are recognized as state languages of equal status. A similar situation applies in neighboring Scandinavia. Why can't we have 2 or 3 state languages in Latvia? Why can't I get my view published in newspapers?," inhabitants [plural as published] of Riga write.

Why not indeed?

If we want to have pluralism, then let us have pluralism. In this context the experience of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA provides an excellent example. This newspaper is not afraid to publish articles presenting diametrically opposed views. For instance, the article "Specific Features of Stalinism in Estonia" by Candidate of Historical Sciences Kh. Vayno, (14 June 1988).

"The Estonian language holds 5th place among the languages in which books are published in the Soviet Union in terms of the number of titles and 7th place in terms of the number of copies printed, although the Estonians are the USSR's 22d largest ethnic group. It is not only children's literature and fiction that is published in Estonian (translated, as a rule, from the original) but also technical, scientific, and popular scientific literature. For Estonians the Russian languge is not the vehicle for assimilating the wealth of world culture to the same extent as it is for many of the USSR's other peoples. There is a national television program and three radio programs. The staff of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, including technical staff and music collectives, constitutes 0.1 percent of the republic's population. This ratio is rare, if not unique. Estonian culture predominates in Estonia. It is simply absurd in this context to talk of the Russification of Estonia."

Incidentally, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA conducted an interesting, very keen, and bold debate around the article by engineer V. Ilin "Barriers on the Way to the Truth" (15 September 1988). The reaction to this article was powerful and, of course, disparate. The editorial mailbag contained both sensible proposals and disagreeable "warnings." Not everyone liked the engineer's viewpoint that "unfortunately, our republic's mass media—not rayon publications and works newspapers, but Latvian radio and television and many reputable newspapers and journals—sometimes simply endeavor to outdo one another in presenting tendentious material and giving the reader cheap thrills...."

Of course, this pluralism is not to the liking of people who make it their task to satisfy ambitious goals rather than accelerate restructuring processes. Naturally, quite powerful pressure was brought to bear on the editorial collective which "ventured" to publish the following lines: "...History cannot be rewritten from scratch. It can only be continued on a new line with fresh ink. Real historians and specialists will consider and study more thoroughly all negative elements in our life—the economy, ecology, culture, the social sphere, and interethnic relations. But today, when restructuring has only just appeared, other 'historians' and 'specialists' have also mobilized themselves. They have to make terrible efforts in order to drown out glasnost...."

It is a feature of the present moment in our great multinational home that an editor's passive stance invariably serves the purpose of the forces destabilizing restructuring. The fate of any movement, be it Lithuania's "Sajudis" or the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts, depends not only on the people professing a quite understandable and indisputable love for their language, culture, and territory.... History shows that a minimum of two wings invariably arise in any movement. Their fundamental goals are absolutely opposed but the body of the "national idea" at a given time unites them. Who but a journalist should try to investigate this? Who but he, who encounters hundreds of human destinies, should be tactful in analyzing a particular interethnic situation? Who will sift the words of truth from the phrases and general phrasemongering that Lenin warned us about?

Competence and responsibility are the problem, as certain local and central press articles show. It is the absence of these qualities that enables antirestructuring forces to turn blunders in glasnost to their own advantage.

Even foreign journalists and experts notice this. I think that SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in its article "All the Same, Clarity in Positions...." (11 October 1988) took an extremely interesting step by printing their opinion.

Erik Andersen (LAND OG FOLK, Denmark):

"...One cannot fail to notice the presence in the program (of the Estonian Popular Front—Editor's Note) of paragraphs focusing attention on national aspects, not to say nationalist aspects in some cases. Unfortunately, it was these paragraphs that were highlighted even further by some speakers at the congress, particularly on the 2d day of its work. In this context I would note the two, in my opinion, most substantial shortcomings in the documents under discussion at the congress. First, the gulf between some of the propositions and reality. In particular, I mean the idea of an 'Estonian currency' and also the approach to certain ecological problems. There are no absolutely clean—ecologically speaking—production units in the modern world when it comes to heavy industry. One could talk rather of the need to provide maximum environmental protection when organizing such enterprises rather than of closing them down altogether. Such appeals recall the Luddite movement in Britain in the 18th century: Smash machines—they're the source of all our troubles!..

"The second shortcoming that emerged at the congress: I personally thought that some of the speeches steeped in 'the rhetoric of restructuring' in fact have nothing in common with the aims and principles of restructuring and use phraseology to speculate on concepts and pursue selfish interests...."

Werner Pierker (VOLKSSTIMME, Austria): "At the People's Front Congress I saw certain trends leading away from socialism. For instance, when some of the speakers called virtually for a ban on the lease contract in the countryside and called for the land to be handed over to the personal possession of peasants and farmers, can I regard this as anything but a trend toward the revival of private ownership? I am alarmed by the clear political and economic illiteracy of such appeals rather than by the terminology. Today even in the most developed Western countries the pull toward socializing means of production and other kinds of property is becoming increasingly powerful, yet here it is back to the division of land.... Yet the audience gave the speaker an ovation! That's what is dangerous: Petty bourgeois instincts should not be indulged! Otherwise you may drift into opportunism....

"Once again a word about the 'blank spots.' Yes, under Stalin and later there were instances of glaring lawlessness. But does this mean that socialism should be denied altogether or is it more logical to speak of criminal violations of the law within the framework of socialism?"

Kerstin Gustafsson (NORRSKENSFLAMMAN, Sweden): "...I think that some alarming symptoms emerged quite clearly at the congress. Thus a complex time has arrived for Estonia's Communists that will test their political maturity and ideological conviction. They will have to prove their right to leadership and authority not only on the basis of a clause in the constitution, but also by real actions."

Our foreign colleagues' sincerity is touching. But the question arises: Why are our party journalists so diplomatic and restrained? Why do they prefer to confine themselves solely to publishing readers' letters and articles? What about their personal viewpoint?

In this respect, the story of the publication of an "advertisement" in Klaypeda's city newspaper is typical. (It is published in Lithuanian and Russian.) The advertisement talked about essentially blocking amendments to the USSR Constitution that allegedly "limit the rights of the union republics and the entire people." Since little time remains before the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, it is necessary to collect signatures, which should be placed straight on a clipping from the newspaper....

The next morning calls flooded into the PRAVDA editorial office saying that there were pickets along the highway to Palanga and in Klaypeda—in public places, stores, and so on. You couldn't buy anything or go anywhere without having to sign a cutout coupon "opposing the amendments."

I called Antanas Stanyavichus, the newspaper's editor:

"It was just an advertisement. The local 'Sajudis' organization paid the standard rate for it.... In my opinion, there's nothing strange in that. No, we didn't coordinate it with the party gorkom. Pickets? Certainly that's not exactly normal."

...But in effect the newspaper was the instrument for a clear and well calculated action. There's no disputing that each one of us is entitled to express a viewpoint on a particular subject. But is it really democratic to squeeze a viewpoint out?

Today it is utterly clear that restructuring is not a mechanical process but a struggle. It is assuming particular acuteness in the field of interethnic relations. That is why it requires particular courage on the part of fighting political journalists.

Yes, one edition of a newspaper and one television reportage are, as it were, small fry on the scales of history. Yet history is being written every day....

Popular Front Programs Reviewed

WA1812002288 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 43, Oct 88 pp 25-28

[Article by Leonid Mlechin entitled: "The Popular Front: For What and Against Whom?"]

[Text] What is happening in the Baltic republics? How much truth is there in the rumors that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia want to "fence themselves off" from the rest of the Soviet Union? What place does the Popular Front occupy in the political life of these republics?

It is impossible to assess the scale of events from Moscow. Television and the press have to work very hard on a daily basis to present an adequate picture of events and changes. It is not enough to write about the heated debates that take place every day from morning till night at the foot of the Liberty Monument in Riga, or the collection of signatures to all sorts of appeals in Tallinn's Old Quarter. It is not enough to look at the programmes of the republican popular fronts (inaugural congresses were held in Tallinn and Riga in early October. A congress in Lithuania is to be held at the end of this month). It is not enough to read an official report in a Party newspaper about the republic's government being grilled by the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring (an analogue to the Popular Front) on economic issues. One has to see the unprecedented increase in popular activity in which people talk not about prices, the rationing of sugar, and rumors that there are plans to introduce meat rationing in some places, but about the political struggles that have swept the Baltic republics and seem to provide the main content of life in the region.

Credibility Gap?

The socio-economic situation in the Baltic republics can hardly be described as grave, certainly not compared with other regions of the country. It is not perceived to be grave (a lot of people have always wanted to go to the Baltic to work or at least on holiday, to eat well and do some shopping) and statistics are comforting. However, people were not judging the situation by the average All-Union yardstick. To begin with, people in the Baltic have known better times. Secondly, because the independence that the republics enjoyed in the two decades between the wars, the circumstances under which they joined the USSR in 1940 were not perceived here in quite the same way as school history textbooks sought to portray. Thirdly, it is now clear that the integration of these republics into the national economy of the Soviet Union was not always sensibly pursued and was seen by many as an attempt to deprive the republics of independence, and even as Russification.

Previously, discontent with the methods of the central government could not fail to impress itself on those who visited the Baltic. It was evident in every-day life. Even the reticent Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians could not conceal their hostility to visitors from other parts of the country. In those years it could be explained away as resentment at the mass invasion by holiday-makers during the summer season. But in fact the roots went far deeper....

The most surprising thing is the total absence in Riga, Vilnius and Tallinn of the powerful academic teams of historians, ethnographers, social psychologists and economists who should have addressed the novel situation in our society as early as last summer. We are not equipped to understand and perceive this situation correctly. It defies traditional categorization. To assess what is happening in the Baltic one needs to study the situation at the highest scientific level. Otherwise, developments may take a dangerous turn with implications for the whole country. In the Baltic, to all the problems confronting our society the national question is added.

One way to describe the situation in the republics is to say that the authorities suffer from a credibility gap. This formula was heard at the plenary meeting of the CC of the Estonian Communist Party. Ultimatum-like demands were heard that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic should resign, and the republican pres teats top leaders in an unwonted way. Even more important is the fact that people are looking not to official structures, from which they don't seem to expect anything, but to the new political movement, the Popular Front (or the Movement for Restructuring).

The Popular Front in all three republics was born as a result of widespread discontent with the way the republics were being run and with the level of social and economic development. This discontent was fuelled by the desire to enjoy true sovereignty and independence as something tangible. Restructuring and democratization offered such an opportunity.

All over the Baltic, in putting forward initiatives the Popular Front is one jump ahead of the Party, Soviet and YCL bodies, which often end up by expressing support for the Front's initiatives and readiness to work for their realization. This support has made it possible to implement many of the Popular Front's ideas. National symbols are being revived, and national languages are being proclaimed official. The ecological demands of the Popular Front have been accepted. A strategy for a republic-wide cost-accounting system is being developed. The Popular Front is becoming the ruler of people's minds. It is recruiting adherents and even establishing international ties. Delegations of the Estonian Popular Front have had talks with the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, the National Front of Czecholovakia and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Poland.

The emergence of the Popular Front in Estonia and Latvia as well as of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, was met with a guarded reaction. Much of what the initiators of these movements said would have been described as out-and-out "dissidence" in former times. Following the spring of 1985, organizations with similar programmes mushroomed in other parts of the country and in the center. They staged rallies, tried to publicize their programmes and held congresses. But none of them has been able to build up a potential constituency big enough to make them a force to be reckoned with. Not so in the three Baltic movements. They are moving from strength to strength. The intelligentsia provided the nucleus. It is not fortuity that the most critical assessments of the situation in the republics and the most radical measures to remedy it were put forward at the plenary meetings of the unions of creative workers in Latvia and Estonia. But support for the Popular Front is not coming from writers and scientists alone: it has the backing of practically all social strata among the indigenous population. There are supporters among Party workers as well. The movement was soon able to make its voice heard through the mass media (I understand that it will soon have its own press). Why did this happen? Because the Popular Front's programme offers an idea which the whole people support.

Let it be said clearly that the Popular Front as a movement in support of restructuring has won over hundreds of thousands of people who are longing for change. They see the Popular Front not only as a powerful catalyst of the processes of restructuring but as a convenient form of grassroots participation in these processes. That is why the republican party organizations have supported this broad popular movement while at the same time warning against any extremism or nationalism. One can have nothing but praise for the activity of the Popular Front aimed at awakening the masses, and for everything it does in the interests of the people. But our approval does not rule out, but, on the contrary, presupposes a thoughtful assessment of the programmes and goals of the Popular Front, which is making headlines at home but has not been accorded a thorough critical analysis in the central press.

Structure

How is the Popular Front organized? The Charter of the Popular Front of Estonia lays down the following structure.

All citizens of the republic, from the age of 16, can be members of the PF. Those who wish to take part in the movement unite in support groups or simply take part in PF events. Support groups are created in residential neighborhoods, work collectives, non-government organizations, parishes, unions of creative workers and in schools. The support group elects its representative, who runs day-to-day affairs. At the next level there are the Popular Fronts of villages, towns and cities; their main task is to take active part in the election of power bodies at every level, the protection of civil rights, and the molding of political consciousness. The leading body is the Council of Representatives. Day-to-day affairs are run by a Board elected by the Council.

The supreme body of the Popular Front of the republic is the congress, convoked once a year and elected by popular meetings or councils of representatives from amongst candidates nominated by the support groups.

What relations does it have with the republican authorities? The PF is not subordinate to Party bodies.

What are the platforms of the Popular Fronts and the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring?

Political System

The main objective is to achieve the sovereignty of their republics. The Popular Front of Latvia proposes that the constitutions of the Soviet Union and the republic should separate the jurisdiction of the federation and the republic, giving the latter the right of veto on all questions that are important to the republic, as well as the right to enter into independent relationships with other states and international organizations. The Popular Front of Estonia want a clear statement that the interests of the union republic come before those of the Union as a whole. Defence and diplomacy are entrusted to the Union, which does not preclude some form of recognition of the republic by any state or international organizations.

The PFs are in favor of a law-governed state, the separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers, and a Constitutional Court as an entirely independent body.

"Genuine self-government of the people must replace government that acts on behalf of, but is alienated from the people." A new electoral law is being proposed that would "guarantee free contest of different views and strict monitoring of the counting of election results." The movements are preparing for next year's election campaign in all the republics. They hope to be able to hold it in a new way and to secure the election of deputies who support their programmes.

The legislative bodies in the republics would play a far more important role than today. There are already proposals that they should set up commissions to monitor the activity of military organizations, bodies concerned with security and internal affairs, and the prosecutor's office on the territory of their republics.

Human Rights

Unlike many other ideas of the Popular Fronts, their proposals on this issue have been universally welcomed in the republics. Human rights are to be brought into harmony with internationally recognized documents, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. This would include legal and practical guarantees of the inviolability of the individual and the home, secret correspondence and telephone conversations, the full implementation of glasnost in state and public life, the citizen's right to obtain full information about his country and people, access to any files on him kept by any institution and the right to challenge its authenticity through the law courts; the abolition of censorship; free contacts with citizens of other countries, with refusal to issue a foreign travel passport—with the exception of cases stipulated by law—subject to appeal in the courts.

Mass repressions, deportations and other crimes of Stalinism must be recognized as crimes against humanity and the names of the immediate culprits and active executors of the terror must be made public. In addition to this provision common to all the Popular Fronts in the Baltic, the Estonian Popular Front proposes to publish lists of the victims of repression, erect memorials to them, and compensate survivors for the moral and material damage.

It is proposed to review the cases of all those sentenced in the sixties, seventies and eighties for their political and religious activities, as no beliefs professed in a democratic society in peace-time can justify the use of criminal punishment. The Popular Front of Estonia believes it necessary to revise the criminal code to bring it into line with the principles of a democratic, law-governed state. These proposals have much in common with demands in other parts of the country; the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, we are told, is also to have the articles on punishment for "anti-Soviet" statements deleted from it.

Some proposals stem specifically from local experience.

Criminals sentenced by a law court should serve their sentences on the territory of the republic. The Popular Front of Latvia stipulates that prisoners from other republics cannot be brought to Latvia or allowed to remain in Latvia after serving their sentences. Similar proposals, incidentally, have been voiced in Siberia, whose people find it if anything, even more of a problem.

The proposals to introduce labor conscription for young people who are conscientious objectors to military service reflect the nationwide discussions concerning military service. There are demands to demilitarize schools, take military training off the curriculum and exempt college and university students from active military service. national servicemen should be allowed to serve in their native republics, with the native language to be used in the army along with Russian. The Latvian Popular Front believes it necessary to restore the right of a republic to have a military force recruited from amongst its citizens, as was legalized by the former Constitution.

The Republic Must Pay Its Way

Central to the proposals of the Popular Front is the economic programme known as regional cost accounting. This demand is not confined to the Baltic. The Estonian Popular Front considers cost accounting to be a necessary condition and a constituent element of sovereignty, as it paves the way for true independence. How does the Popular Front interpret such independence?

The republic would make all economic decisions itself, without any interference from the Centre. Trade and economic ties with other parts of the Soviet Union would be exercised only through the market. There would be full freedom of action on the world market. Regional cost accounting is a serious idea with which top economists in the Baltic are grappling. It is up to the professionals to assess the results of their deliberations, but the outlines of the discussions are already clear.

All enterprises, including those under all-union jurisdiction, would pass to republican control. The republic would have the right to sovereignty in the use of its natural resources.

The republic would independently shape its own budget, and plan its economic and social development (with the exception, perhaps, of the defence industries, which would be regarded as the state property of the USSR). The sectoral ministries for management, distribution and control would be dissolved, with the possible exception of the ministry of the agro-industrial complex, and a single ministry for industry. Also necessary would be the ministries of finance, labor, social security and environment protection. Government ministries and departments would not have direct control over economic activity. Enterprises would operate independently, their work being controlled exclusively by a system of taxes and other economic levers.

Favorable conditions would be created for foreign investments especially investments by emigres. Republican currency would be introduced and a free currency market opened. The possibility is being considered of turning the whole of Estonia into a free economic zone with corresponding customs and tax legislation.

More profound transformations would be needed in the economic system, such as the free development of cooperative, individual and private property. "Private ownership of the means of production cannot and must not be a temporary economic measure; it calls for constitutional guarantees. The Popular Front favors the transfer of state enterprises, on a contractual basis, to work collectives, cooperatives, public organizations and individuals," says the programme of the Estonian Popular Front. Land would be handed over to the peasants in perpetuity, i.e., the small-holding system would be revived.

A host of questions arise, as the interests of the republic could turn out to be at odds with those of the Union. Is it possible to introduce full cost accounting in one or several republics, while methods in other regions remain as they were? What would relations be between those republics that have gone over to cost accounting and those that have not? How would the changes in the monetary system in the republics proposed by the PFs dovetail with the existing system (which is likely to be preserved in the rest of the USSR)? The proposed restructuring of the productive forces in the republic would greatly depend on the traditional Baltic pattern of agriculture. Where would its produce be marketed? The European Community is hardly a prospective buyer, so food would be offered to the other republics, but they would pay in rubles, while the development of science-intensive industry, which is the goal proclaimed in the PF programmes, needs convertible currency. Where would it be obtained? Opening the floodgates to foreign capital does not always work; in the event of failure, who would pay up on the credits: the republic or the Union?

Questions of a more general character also arise. Does full economic autonomy, for the republics mean that the Union-wide planning system is to be scrapped? If only the Baltic republics are excluded from the system, this means their effective separation from the life of the country. The desire for political autonomy and broad international ties proclaimed by the Popular Front could lead to separatism. Some states do operate on a federalist basis, with their component parts enjoying the broadest autonomy. Examples are not far to seek. The Ukraine and Byelorussia—as sovereign republics—are members of the UN. The Baltic republics may well claim the right to be similarly represented in international organizations. It is significant that the programme documents of the Popular Front devote much space to plans to establish various international ties and very little space to relations within the Soviet Union. (That is why the economic programme of the Popular Front differs from the cost-accounting strategies being developed by the governments of the Baltic republics).

What implications would the introduction of republican citizenship have? Needless to say, in their speeches, articles and interviews the leaders of the Popular Front deny any separatist tendency or the desire to secede. The Popular Front's leaders state firmly that such ideas are only advanced by extremists. But events follow an inherent logic of their own. If the PF programmes are fully implemented, what would be the concrete result? Wouldn't it lead to the virtual rupture of all ties between the Baltic republics and the Union? There are, of course, other points clearly unrealistic and unacceptable, but masked by appropriate rhetoric.

Protection of the environment looms large in the activity of the Popular Front and the Movement for Restructuring, protests against the Sloka paper plant, which pollutes the Bay of Riga and the Lielupe River, against the building of an underground railway in Riga, against a nuclear power plant in Lithuania and the mining of phosphorites in Northeastern Estonia have the backing of everyone in the Baltic republics. The programme of the National Front, therefore, proposes that the construction, modernization and operation of any industry be forbidden if it is not equipped with purification plants. It is necessary to control industrial waste disposal and regularly inform the public on the state of the environment.

The draft programme of the Estonian National Front emphasizes the commitment to peace, to proclaiming the Baltic republics and the whole of the Baltic Sea part of a nuclear-free North, and the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Estonian soil.

Humanitarian Issues

Last but not least comes the nationalities question, which is at the top of the agenda of the Popular Front.

To my mind, it is the position of the National Fronts in Estonia and Latvia and the Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania on this issue that has attracted the largest number of followers, on the one hand, and antagonized that part of the non-indigenous population which is setting up its own organizations (as in Estonia)—the International Movement and the Council of Work Collectives.

"When the sovereignty of various national entities was crudely violated, when entire peoples were resettled from their historic territories and their national statehood was liquidated, when numerous campaigns were conducted against so-called cosmopolitanism, bourgeois nationalism and zionism, the autocratic and anti-Leninist nationalities policy led to serious distortions and conflicts in national relations, the suppression of small ethnic groups, the restricted use of the national language, a sharp drop in the ethno-demographic potential or some nationalities (Latvians, Estonians and others), the stunting of national culture." (Popular Front of Latvia).

This is a statement of the facts. What are the proposals?

In Latvia, to establish Latvian constitutionally as the official language and Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication. As knowledge of Latvian increases, and mutual and real bilingualism spreads, Latvian is to become the language of inter-ethnic communication for the citizens of the republic.

In Estonia, to write into the Constitution that the language of the indigenous nationality is the official national language of the republic, to establish citizenship of the Union Republic and guarantee national symbols.

The Popular Front of Estonia: "Representatives of other nationalities living in each Union Republic should understand and recognize the right of the indigenous nationality to self-determination, i.e., the right to preserve and develop on their ancestral land their historic cultural patterns and way of life, to ensure the preservation of the nation and the language, and decide the future and the social order in their land. The Estonian SSR is a national republic. While coming out first and foremost as a champion of the interests of the Estonian nation, it will be able to protect the interests of all other ethnic groups living here."

All this sounds sensible enough. But why has the Popular Front programme on national issues met with such adverse reactions on the part of the "non-indigenous" population, mainly Russians? Why do people feel that the programme not only impinges on their civil rights, but humiliates their national dignity? Perhaps because the proposed scheme would make for discrimination on a national basis, and investigating people's ethnic origins is always suggestive of nationalism.

Some people in the republics see the Popular Front programmes as departures from the principles of socialism, and detect separatist tendencies in them. In reply, they have been accused of Stalinism. But there are a still greater number of people who accuse these movements of national narrow-mindedness. The absolute majority of the people who take part in these movements in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are indigenous Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians. Representatives of other nationalities, notably Russian, have not joined the Popular Front, and preferred to set up alternative associations. Mutual accusations of nationalism and chauvinism have ensued. There is a danger of the republics being split on the basis of nationality. Just how real that danger is could form the subject of a separate study.

Readers Question Role of Fronts

WA1800015888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Miroslav Buzhkevich: "The High Water of Democracy"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA readers I. Yeremenko from Magadan, N. Portugalin from Vladimir, N. Vasilevich from Minsk and many others ask why so-called informal associations that hold meetings and debates on various issues and sharply criticize the economy's shortcomings and the work of soviet and party organs are allowed to function. The authors are concerned: Will all of this not be a hindrance to the progress of restructuring?

High water is a springtime term, an offspring of the awakening of nature following its winter slumber. Spring floods swell the rivers, "clamber up" the banks, encircle bushes and the bases of trees, and inundate floodplains. It is the beginning of a time of renewal.

So it is in the country's life also. In April 1985 we were met by an unusual spring—a time of cleansing from the ills of stagnation, the tyranny of bureaucracy, Brezhnevism and Stalinism, a time of unshackling of the people's initiative. And now the flow of social forces working in the name of restructuring is close to overflowing. Merging with this flow is a movement of public, social and ecological independent action, represented by various associations which sociologists refer to as informal groups. They are the topic of this article.

First of all let me outline the range of my interests and research. It includes the national fronts of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. PRAVDA has already discussed these unique sociopolitical movements on several occasions. I will not get into the capital's "Democratic Union" and that part of "Memory" that is "led" by D.

Vasilyev. So as not to give publicity to their politically extremely unrestrained, mistaken statements that are causing the public to wonder.

And so, my field of view is limited here to the independent public action movement—various population groups often referred to in short as "informal" and uniting together into clubs, associations and funds. Such organizations are now functioning in practically all oblast, kray and republic centers as well as in the country's major industrial cities. Some of them support positions alien to our ideology. But the range of interests of most of them is extremely wide: discussion of the progress of restructuring, the fight against bureaucracy, corruption and a work style based on administrative pressure, ecology, urban buildup, preservation of architectural monuments, art, culture, folklore and many, many other things.

How many organizations of this kind are there? No one can really say. There are many of them, but they are not officially registered. Some of the groups and associations are short-lived, convening for a short time to carry out local tasks: to work up a petition or declaration of some kind, to hold a discussion on a specific problem. And for the most part, there are many informal groups that do not attach any significance to organization, feeling that it would cause the movement to become "bureaucratic."

Unfortunately there is no official information on the scale of this phenomenon, since its analysis by party and soviet organs and scientific institutions had begun only recently.

I was told at the Moscow party gorkom that there are around 2,000 various public independent action groups and clubs in the capital. Three-fourths of them are traditional, functioning in what we refer to as the leisure niche—that is, they help people find useful ways to occupy their free time. They include various adult and children's circles sponsored by housing administrations and cultural institutions, political clubs, special-interest clubs, house sports sections and so on.

The remaining quarter are organizations of the most diverse form striving to Influence the state's domestic and foreign policy in one way or another. Some of them deliberately balance on the "brink of acceptability," perpetually confronting local soviets and police organs.

I was given the opportunity to attend a few debates and to talk with the leaders of a number of the capital's organizations and clubs. The impression I gathered was that each of these groups believes itself to be the bearer of the truth, and a court of last resort, virtually like that famous cat that roams about on its own. I constantly encountered their skeptical attitude toward things others were doing. Frequently the intensity of their debates with each other rose almost to the point of "breast-beating" and the rhetorical question: "And who are you? What were you doing prior to April 1985?"

Candidate of Historical Sciences (Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences) B. Lapshov, an active participant of the public independent action movement, defined the roots of this "phenomenon" rather precisely—the personal motives of some activists in these informal groups. The fact is that in the capital and in a number of other major centers, the movement is supported chiefly by young scientific workers (25-35 years old). In view of objective and subjective reasons, during the years of stagnation they were unable to attain recognition in their own collectives, to fully reveal their capabilities, and using terminology fashionable today, attain self-expression and self-confirmation. When the elements of democracy began to be introduced into our life and glasnost was reborn, such people joined clubs, various associations and so on. They joined in order to loudly declare their existence, to demonstrate their radicalism, boldness and unswerving progressivism. And each one wants to have his own organization. The results are sometimes downright funny. A certain Valeriy Fadeyev recently announced the establishment of a new "party of urban and rural proprietors." It has but a dozen members in its ranks.

There is one other typical trait of these informal groups. One listens to the speeches of orators at the debate podiums and one reads the programs, charters and petitions of informal organizations, and one is amazed by the political naivete of some of their authors.

Here is a lofty statement made by Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Rakitskaya, speaking in a debate on legal problems. Appealing to an audience of over three hundred, she pathetically pronounced:

"The motto 'All Power to the Soviets!' needs to be temporarily repealed. In place of it we proclaim the motto: 'All Power to the People!' We will create peoples organs of power in parallel with the soviets of peoples deputies."

The audience broke into applause mixed with sincere laughter. Among politically immature people, such "radicalism" evokes triumphant euphoria: How boldly she put it! And so the applause. In the meantime serious listeners responded with sincere laughter.

Other leaders of informal groups fling out slogans without thinking about the consequences. The motto on one of the leaflets published by the organizing committee of Moscow's popular front reads: "Land to the Peasants." I asked several activists of the organizing committee to explain its meaning.

On thinking it over, some admitted that the slogan was "incorrect" and that it should not have been printed. However, one of the coordinators of the organizing committee, A. Fedorovskiy, explained that in this case the implication was to correct the peasant's alienation from the land by introducing family and leaseholder contracts. But this is in fact the core of our party's agrarian policy at the present time. Thus it would seem that this policy should be openly supported. But political obscurants or adventurists who might capitalize on this motto as an appeal to divide the land of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes among the peasants could surface. Such a turn would bring no benefit to the cause of restructuring which the capital's popular front organizing committee is promoting.

I would not wish readers to develop the opinion that the programs and charters of public independent action groups and associations contain only absurdities. Many of them pose tasks which, if carried out, would help to deepen the democratic foundations of our society, expand glasnost within it and, most importantly, shorten the road itself of restructuring and of the economic and political transformations occurring in the country. Among them in my opinion is the "Democratic Restructuring" club, which found as its sponsor a grass-roots organization of the All-Union Society of Economists under the Central Mathematical Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In a democratic order drawn up prior to the 19th all-union party conference the club's members analyzed both the situation in our society and the means of improving it and of restructuring the economy. However, they are extremely indecisive in their attempts to carry out the tasks they have themselves declared.

The reader must have noticed that thus far I have been citing the names of scientific associates only. No, I have not been doing this intentionally. The fact is simply that the public independent action movement is to a certain degree an elitist movement, especially in Moscow, Leningrad and a number of other of the largest centers. The high ground in them has been "taken" mainly by scientific workers in the humanitarian sciences, and to a lesser extent by representatives of the technical intelligentsia, and it is these people that are determining the nature of the actions and the ways of attaining planned goals. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. Malyutin, a communist and an instructor at the Timeryazev Academy, is an active member of one of these informal groups. He compared the movement to a person with a large head, a small trunk and weak legs. It is hard for him to walk.

This is most likely what created the specific "flare" and the niche inhabited by informal groups. All of the steam energy is used up to make the whistle blow: to set up numerous debates, to write protests, petitions and alternative variants of new laws, and to publish their own manuscript journals. All of this is of course important: The participation itself of various groups in sociopolitical life makes a certain impression on it. However, the flood of words that inundated us in the first years after April 1985 is reaching its high-water mark; the time for actions has come. It would be well for most of the informal associations to switch from words to deeds as soon as they proclaim the struggle to accelerate restructuring as their main task.

There are of course examples of useful actions taken by informal groups. One of the priority objectives in the principal directions of the activities of the Social Initiative Fund (FSI) is to develop existing forms of public self-administration and seek new forms. And this is not just an empty declaration. A public laboratory of self-administration created by the fund (its director is Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Vuzgalin, an instructor at Moscow State University) has drawn up recommendations on organizing and improving workers' self-administration. These recommendations describe, on the basis of experience already accumulated, how to create labor collective councils, and their powers and interactions with the administration, and they propose a model statute on the technical supervisory service. These recommendations were distributed by the governing board of the RSFSR Znaniye Society. Thus informal groups filled a gap created by workers of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Wages and the AUCCTU who were unable to prepare these documents in time for enactment of the Law on the State Enterprise.

The efforts of A. Vuzgalin's laboratory have turned out to be rather productive. I have before me letters from enterprise and organization directors expressing gratitude for the assistance rendered to the Kaliningrad Oblast Vodokanal Administration, the Shakhty Cotton Combine and the VNIIproyektasbest (Sverdlovsk Oblast). And the Department of Labor and Social Problems of the Perm Oblast Executive Committee went out of its way to note that the recommendations of the public laboratory hastened organization of self-administration in the oblast's enterprises.

There could be significantly more examples of this kind. If only.... This would be a good point to analyze the problems in the mutual relations between informal groups and official organs.

All of us were "nurtured" to some degree or another during the years of stagnation. Some are able to cast off the past quickly, to decisively reject former stereotypes, and rules and views that have been tested for their "stability." But some have not yet been able to accept the new way of thinking—it's not as easy as changing one's hat—and out of inertia view criticism as dishonor. Public discussion of bureaucratic practices, bribery and corruption, especially when specific party, soviet and business executives are named, is still frequently assessed as "undermining the foundations." Apparently this is why a number of party committees and executive committees of local soviets have not yet been able to objectively evaluate the public independent action movement.

It must be said for the sake of justice that informal groups do not concern themselves very much with the purity of their ranks, they give no thought to who joins them and why. Is this perhaps not why there are many persons among them who act provocatively, who brazenly violate the laws and social order, who are morally impure and who are open enemies of our structure? It stands to reason that these are not the kind of people who are defining the countenance of the movement, which has become an objective reality. To ignore it means to be politically near-sighted in a manner dangerous to one's successors. Yes, some activists of this movement are ideologically immature, their views are eclectic, and their actions are contradictory and inconsistent. But many of them are sincerely interested in overcoming the legacy of stagnation; they want to help the people and the party to push restructuring through to the end. And rather than following the "tested" course of prohibition, of "suppression" of initiative, would it not be better to engage the informal groups in dialogue, and establish interaction in the efforts to satisfy pressing social needs?

Here is an illustration to what I am saying. Members of the council of representatives of social clubs in Saratov proposed holding Bukharin readings. No matter where they turned, they could not get any support. Administrative caution took the upper hand: Get involved with these informal groups, and they'll say things unacceptable, and excesses will follow. In short, as the old saying goes, God protects the protected!

The informal groups worked their way up to the oblast party committee. Here they found people who were wiser and more daring. They realized that such an important and politically acute event must not be ignored. They agreed to conduct the readings in the House of Political Education. Scholars from local institutions of higher education participated in them on equal terms with members of the social clubs.

The readings were interesting and lively. More than 200 persons attended, including workers of the oblast party committee.

Saratov Oblast Party Committee Secretary Yu. Baranov told me that this had been an extremely useful function. Contact was established with the informal groups, and mutual trust was born. A few days after the readings representatives of the informal groups came to the oblast committee requesting help in organizing production of two instruments—one for determining the nitrate content of vegetables and fruits, and another for analyzing motor vehicle exhausts with the purpose of determining their concentration of carcinogenic substances. And they were met with support.

The oblast committee secretary also noted:

"Our social scientists, and our party workers as well, became persuaded that informal groups could be debated only by well-trained people superior to them in their knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the history of the party and the country, its economy, the law, and the subtleties of the country's modern life."

These are words deserving of attention. The advent of a number of new public associations striving to assist the cause of socialist renewal was recognized to be a positive phenomenon by the 19th all-union party conference. And if we communists wish to place all capable forces of society in the service of restructuring, we must learn to see and listen to the informal groups, engage them in debate, and know how to defend our own views and the party's ideals. But the sad thing is that many party and soviet workers remain silent, even when they visit the social clubs, avoiding the field of ideological "battle."

Sometimes it also happens that officials whose party and official duty it is to heed public opinion, to consider it or justifiably reject it, refuse direct, eye-to-eye conversations with informal groups. In early September a group of Moscow communists who were members of the public movement in support of restructuring submitted alternative drafts of two documents to the Moscow CPSU City Committee: the Ukase on the Procedures for Organizing and Conducting Assemblies, Meetings, Street Marches and Demonstrations in the USSR, and the draft Law on the Election System. Workers of the city committee's propaganda department forwarded these documents to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, asking it to discuss them in a meeting with their authors and legal specialists. And so, what happened? The documents were soon returned to the city committee without any explanation. Only an official stamp attested to the fact that they had reached the supreme organ of state rule. So it was that a possibility for exchanging opinions with young communist scientists, something which would probably have been useful to both sides, was lost.

Yes, everyone needs to learn democracy. Even the informal groups, which argue in behalf of this democracy but are unable and often unwilling to hear out their opponents. Recently for example a debate on the topic "Freedom of the Personality: Choice and Elections" was conducted in Minsk at a meeting of the "Contemporary" political club. When the debate became intense, club chairman L. Krivitskiy demanded that those who disagreed with the club's position immediately leave the hall. What kind of pluralism of opinions, glasnost and freedom of speech is this?

Party, soviet and business executives and workers of police organs need to learn democracy also. The time of bureaucratic practices has disappeared into the bottomless pit of history; demagoguery, abuse of authority, public dishonoring of different opinions, and attachment of labels to those who disagree with the official point of view are falling as dead leaves from the living trunk of the society. The communist executive and the party official must not be "dumbstruck" on encountering biting but just evaluations of the shortcomings of our structure and of the life of society. He must argue knowledgeably with each person, no matter who he might be.

This article is not an analysis of all directions and forms of the public independent action movement—it is but an attempt to fathom its smiles and its frowns. Someone called the movement a genie let out of the bottle by restructuring. A rather mystical image in my opinion.

When a river rises quickly, people build up and reinforce the banks in order to keep the flow within its channel, compelling it to work for the benefit of man. So it is with the high water of democracy: The river of the people's initiative and its tributaries, including the movement of informal groups, can and must be channeled in the direction of the interests of the society. It must be understood, recognized and nurtured. And then it will begin actively serving the cause of restructuring.

Estonian Republic Opinions, Activities Reported

Supreme Soviet Session Opens

LD0512143088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Tallinn, 5 Dec (TASS)—The state plan for the economic and social development of Estonia for 1989 and progress in fulfilling the plan this year are being examined by a routine session of the Supreme Soviet and this Soviet Republic in the Baltic. The session opened today in the Estonian capital. The deputies will also be discussing environmental problems, environmental protection, and the use of natural resources in Estonia; the republic's transfer to financial autonomy; the status of the state language in Estonia; and the establishment of a commission on interethnic relations within the republic's Supreme Soviet. Also on the agenda are other matters concerning the social and political life of the republic.

Refuses To Reconsider Veto

AU0512165688 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 5 (AFP)—The Soviet Baltic Republic of Estonia has again marked itself off from Moscow, with its local parliament on Monday refusing to reopen discussions on a recently-adopted right of veto over federal laws.

The parliament's November 16 vote has been termed "unconstitutional" by a Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

But the Presidium's decree would only be "read out by way of information" rather than discussed anew by the Estonian Supreme Soviet (parliament), Popular Front spokesman Ionis Avikson told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

"In Estonia, the adopted amendments (to the Constitution) are still considered valid, with Estonia's parliament the sole body entitled to rescind them," the spokesman for the unofficial mass organisation said.

However there was no need to "dramatize" the situation, he added. "If (Soviet President Mikhail) Gorbachev had really banged his fist on the table at the Presidium meeting in Moscow, Estonian leaders would already have been replaced," he said.

Mr. Avikson also said Estonians did not want to stand in the way of Mr. Gorbachev's reforms, believing that he was the best man available for satisfying their demands for greater autonomy.

The agenda for the two-day local parliamentary meeting includes discussions on budgetary, environmental and economic matters, along with a debate on the status of the Estonian language and the nature of Stalinist repression in the republic, Mr. Avikson said.

Front Obstructs Restructuring

PM0212142988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Captain Third Rank V. Urban report under the rubric "Our Special Correspondents' Report From the Baltic and the Transcaucasus": "Who Opposes Dialogue?"]

[Text] Tallinn, 1 Dec—The situation in Estonia is still quite complex. The events initiated on 30 November can also confirm this. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported that there were plans to hold the constituent conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives that day. It began its work at 1600 in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Enlightenment. Representatives of labor collectives from the republic's capital and the cities of Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve, and others assembled there.

V. Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" plant, provided the gathering with detailed information on the origins of this movement. When a clear polarization took shape between the Estonian Popular Front and Interdvizheniye [Intermovement], which was formed soon after, and interethnic relations became exacerbated, "Dvigatel's" workers formed a labor collective council on the basis of consolidating healthy forces. At the end of September eight enterprise councils joined together. Similar processes also occurred in other cities. The question of forming a republic organization gradually arose, so representatives of 117 production associations gathered. The USSR laws on labor collectives and the state enterprise were the juridical basis for the conference. Objectives which were both economic—the implementation of the idea of republic economic accountability [khozraschet]—and political—primarily the affirmation of the interests of the working class, respect for ethnic cultures, and internationalism—were set. They were not concealed and were quite rightly reflected in the United Council of Labor Collectives' draft statute and program.

S. Pasko, member of the constituent conference organizational committee, said:

From the very start the Popular Front reacted adversely to the idea of our association. Via GOLOS NARODA we proposed to its leaders that the statute be discussed, but no answer was forthcoming. On the eve of the conference and twice during the night the organizational committee met with the directors of plants where Estonian workers predominate. On the whole these are local industry enterprises. We had virtually already managed to elaborate a joint program. We reached the following agreement: Their representatives would gather at the Gorkholl Palace of Culture and Sport and, following the creation of the United Council of Labor Collectives, we would go there and determine joint tasks for the future. We have every opportunity for this. On the whole they agreed with the draft documents.

Local radio held live broadcasts from the conference. People at the Gorkholl listened to what was said in the House of Political Enlightenment. I will cite just the main problems raised in the speeches made by both Russians and Estonians: People's separation on national grounds only impedes the common cause; it is time to stop mutual recriminations; the republic often disregards the opinion of the working person; methods of economic accountability are being poorly assimilated. If we are being totally objective, some people's emotions ran too high. But businesslike proposals prevailed nonetheless. Estonian Popular Front and Interdvizheniye representatives were invited, and they were able to express their views. The fact that the delegates resolved to adopt the draft statute and program only as a base indicates the debatable nature of the conference. The drafts will become juridical documents following their discussion at the local level.

N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Vakht, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered speeches at the conference.

What happened at the Gorkholl? At approximately midnight journalists from the central newspapers drove out there. It turned out that the Estonian Popular Front gained the upper hand. Its leader, E. Savisaar, was presiding. Following his proposal, an alternative vote was held. It is a particularly sorry state of affairs that when a statement was made regarding reasonable talks with the elected Presidium of the United Council of Labor Collectives, the hall immediately rejected this idea. Then they reacted rapidly to another idea, and an Estonian SSR Union of Labor Collectives was hastily created as a counterweight, as it were, to the United Council of Labor Collectives. There were disputes over the title alone. No constructive program was made public.

So yet another obstacle to the cause of restructuring in Estonia has cropped up. There is open confrontation once again. These are only first impressions, but it is clear that the Popular Front's overt failure to accept other opinions and positions is increasingly affecting the situation within the republic.

Party Ideological Struggle

LD2911042588 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday morning at 0900 the meeting of the Estonian Communist Party's Tallinn Mere Rayon (?party committee) opened at the new Political Education Building. Taking part in this conference were also Arnold Kasikov, who is party committee secretary at the Estonian SSR Committee for Television and Radio as well as the editor of today's broadcast. The working day was extremely long and tense, and frankly, it made one think about quite a few things. Perhaps we should give a short summary and a kind of explanation of what in fact took place there. Over to you [word indistinct].

[Kasikov] I have been to quite a few party conferences but have never experienced a conference like this one. The party is a union of fellow-thinkers, but at the conference an ideological struggle took place between communists. This struggle took place in essence between the right wing, represented by the Inter-Movement and the consolidating forces [passage indistinct]. Out of the positions of the Inter-Movement came the Dvigatel; the RET, the association of civil aviation; Toostusaparaat [industrial apparatus], which are big party primary organizations within Mere Rayon. This question had already been discussed before the conference at the conference of party secretaries in Mere Rayon.

The majority of party organizations' secretaries condemned the fact that large organizations must not implement their greater numbers when electing into the rayon committee and when electing delegates; this is undemocratic. Yet, in spite of this, organizations came out at the conference with a strong attack at the address of the Estonian Communist Party. The Inter-Movement came out with the following platform: The press has gone beyond the party's control and has become the mouthpiece for the Popular Front; the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is simply looking on and does not interfere; this is a completely impermissible situation, with also the rayon committee keeping to one side; the work of the rayon committee must be recognized as being unsatisfactory, the platform of the Central Committee must be rejected, and the political line must be recognized as being false; at the elections their own men must get to the front and then order must be established within the party by using force.

This is a kind of brutal and transparent program. But one can also say that it did not carry weight at the conference. For example, only 23 percent of the delegates support recognizing work as being unsatisfactory, with 57 percent of the delegates still voting for the 11th plenum of the Central Committee [which adopted several pro-Estonian views in September] while there were only 40 percent of Estonians in the auditorium. That means that there are also Russians and Russian-speaking people who understand the matters in fact: One cannot indeed go for a confrontation. This taking advantage of the greater numbers at elections was partially successful, but not completely successful.

[Unidentified man] I was indeed left with a poor impression of how it is organized undergound, this activity against the party through using family ties and acquaintances, the voting mechanism where one does not operate at all with arguments but simply with slander and abuse. This all left a very vulgar impression on me. For example, Visnapuu is the rayon committee first secretary. Before the conferences started he asked all party secretaries who had been released if they support the present rayon committee leadership. If there are any grievances, come out with them. Everyone supported [the committee leadership]. Everyone agrees, but at the conference a section instantly started to work against the grain.

Visnapuu was accused at the conference of not having led the rayon. He has been working at his post for only 2 and ½ months. That is, as I understood, that Visnapuu was being accused of being Estonian—and less than ⅓ of the Mere rayon party organization are Estonians. It is not respectable that an Estonian would be at the head of such an organization. We now have to acknowledge realistically that there is a right wing as an ideological stream within the Estonian Communist Party. The ideological root of it is namely the denial of local specific features, the implementation of unionwide common conceptions, traditions, and measures. Local interest runs equal to nationalism and separatism, and it has to be inarguably subordinated to all-union interests. Even if there is injustice in this subordination, this does not count at all.

So, strong centralism and equality in the standard of development of different regions are considered prerequisites for achiveing the social [words indistinct] in the economic development of the USSR. Organizationally, the interests of all-union departments are being relied upon, and within the party the wish is to take advantage of the nationality's greater numbers, group interests, and nationality interests as being already existing party standpoints, through taking advantage of the elections mechanis. I view this path as heading towards a direct confrontation, and one cannot attach to this platform labels urging consolidation around this idea. This is an activity moving toward a split within the Estonian Communist Party, and this must be condemned. The basis for this condemnation should be the further development of ideological-theoretical work which develops the thinking about our republic's special features, and one should put together a specific program for action in the Estonian Communist Party. A communist who does not recognize this should step aside from the party. Splittist activity is not needed.

[Unidentified correspondent] I would add just this much, that this morning at 0100 the new members of the Mere Rayon party committee elected a first secretary, (?Yephim Gusev), RET association general secretary. He got two more votes than Donald Visnapuu. He was then elected first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party's Tallinn Mere Rayon.

Tallinn Journal Views Baltic

LD2111150188 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 4 Nov 88 pp 2, 3

["On the State of Affairs at the Moment, End of October 1988"—by Teet Kallas]

[Excerpts] The last time we spoke was on the eve of the People's Congress. [passage omitted]

That was the forum on nationalities held at the end of September in the assembly hall of the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute. In my opinion that was an extraordinary event not only in Estonia but in the whole of the Union. If there was the least wish, if there were those people who genuinely wanted to, specialists of any kind could learn from this example and this model could also serve as an example for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationality question.

When and against what kind of political background this plenum will take place is not yet precisely known. But there are already signs from which one can assume that our example is hardly likely to be of interest to anybody. Yet, indeed, this would be the time to realize that nationality questions can be discussed only by those who are involved in it, that is, the nationalities themselves. It cannot be decided in a centralized way in Moscow, in a way which suits the Muscovites. (However, as life has demonstrated, absolutely anything can be decided there, even the cookery recipes of Turkmenians and Estonians!) [passage omitted]

Glasnost is endless but consciously we do not yet know anything at all about matters of crucial importance for us. I for one would very much like to know who indeed is preparing the plenum of the nationality questions; if it is the late ideology secretary Yegor Ligachev, or Medvedev, the new man in this post who until now has been carefully quiet. There is no background information, let alone open texts. The opinion of yet another ideology leader, Yakovlev, about the situation in the Baltic states has been broadcast to us by Finnish television, which gave a report of that secretary's interview to the NEW YORK TIMES. That is how we learned that the Baltic states will not have a currency of their own, and likewise, no diplomatic representation abroad. [passage omitted]

But we will not get very far if we do not proceed with an honest analysis of Karl Vaino's 10 years of rule in Estonia. Until then Vainoisms will continue to operate diligently. His team will continue serving in many positions without being capable of, without even wanting to reassess anything. It is also of concern that Vaino as well as other unpopular leaders of the Baltic lands (Voss, Pugo) were not pensioned off at all—they still decide quite essential matters within the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. I do not understand what lies behind such maneuvers in cadre policy. [passage omitted]

Again, one needs to talk about our Russian-language press. Unfortunately some editorial boards have not taken too seriously the resolution of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. If the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA managed to preserve a relatively balanced line for quite some time, then after the People's Congress stormy criticism was unleashed on the pages of this paper at the address of the Popular Front. Criticism is criticism, but apart from the official material carried by ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency] there has been in fact no positive assessment of the content of the criticism. [passage omitted]

And until the Estonian Communist Party is but one link in the chain of the CPSU, at the level of the party organization of a small oblast, our voice will not reach very far. Until the union republics are represented in the leading organs (also Politburo) of the CPSU, one canot speak seriously of actual democracy. [passage omitted] But one can sense some kind of a split in the party, with V. Valjas standing on one side and J. Kogan on the other. It is not pluralism. And we have to consider in reality this state of affairs at the moment. [passage omitted]

If the amendments to the USSR Constitution in fact become reality, then also juridically the Union of socialist republics as such is liquidated. A new name must be found for this state, or an earlier and more historic name openly restored. [passage omitted]

To speak once more of the state of affairs at the moment: the hot summer of 1988 in Estonia has come to an end and an icy start to the winter has arrived. Will it be a dark and endless winter night?

Latvian Officials, Popular Fronts on Situation

KGB Chief Endorses Restructuring

WA18000193 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with S.V. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB, conducted by to LATINFORM correspondent V. Ter-Oganesov]

[Text] **Comrade chairman, how do you conceive of the basic tasks of the state security organs at the present stage?**

Above all, as we have done in the past, we must expose, and prevent subversive activities by the special services of the capitalist countries and hostile actions within our country, aimed at undermining and destroying the socialist system. We must also ensure the protection of state and military secrets and, in short, investigate dangerous and other state crimes.

In recent months events have developed so rapidly that occasionally we are unable to keep up with the changes. Democratization and the expansion of glasnost are assuming a particularly fast pace. Clearly, restructuring has affected your area as well. I hope that within the range of the possible, in the course of our discussion you will be able to speak of this, the more so since your appointment to this position virtually coincided with the beginning of restructuring in the country and the republic. But here is the question which we must ask: Does the democratization of society mean, in particular, that the state security organs will, to a certain extent, narrow their activities? Furthermore, there has been a warming trend in the international climate.

Unfortunately, the reality is such that there is an enemy and despite a certain international detente, he keeps making efforts to undermine and weaken our society. This is no exaggeration or intensification of "espionage passions." The special services of the capitalist countries are functioning. Substantial budget funds are appropriated for them. As we know, capitalists do not like to waste their money. Therefore, in this case we must speak not of weakening the activities of the special services but of changing the tactics of subversive activities and forms and methods. They are forced to do so by the very situation in our country and in the republic, and our socioeconomic and political restructuring. In connection with the process of democratization, contacts between the Latvian population and foreigners have increased significantly, and the enemy tries to use this situation to obtain information on a wide range of questions of interest to him.

Along with this, the special services in the capitalist countries and the foreign anti-Soviet centers they support try to pit the processes of upgrading the social activeness of the republic's population against party and governmental policy.

An example of this is the hostile activities of O. Vyakhyasalo, formerly from Riga, born in 1957. After going to Finland in 1981, she began to cooperate with the National-Labor Alliance, which is an emigre anti-Soviet organization, and with Amnesty International, and was used by members of the special services. On their assignment, O. Vyakhyasalo established contacts with some of her acquaintances among the Latvian population, whom she subjected to hostile ideological indoctrination and supplied with addresses and anti-Soviet organizations in the West and directed to them messengers from abroad. She made persistent efforts to involve them in gathering military, political and economic information. On the presentation of the USSR KGB and by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, last February O. Vyakhyasalo was deprived of her Soviet citizenship and deprived of the right to enter our country for 3 years.

This case is merely one of the examples of the hostile and subversive activities conducted against our republic. As we know, by virtue of its geographic location, Latvia plays an important role in foreign-trade freight hauling. Therefore, we have entirely reliable data proving that the enemy special services and the foreign anti-Soviet organizations are making active use of this channel of international contacts. Soviet seamen, and Sovtransavto drivers are being subjected to purposeful ideological indoctrination. We know of cases of persuading them to betray the homeland. This is particularly characteristic in the sea ports of Las Palmas, Antwerp, Hamburg and Santa Cruz.

Efforts are being made to involve our people in currency speculations, smuggling and other illegal activities. For example, in the Belgian port of Antwerp, the owner of a store for Soviet seamen asked them to bring paintings from famous painters, promising for them as much as R500,000. He immediately followed this with detailed recommendations about how to do this better.

Of late the rules applied concerning the crews of our ships and motor vehicles abroad have become stricter. The situation has reached the level of provocations. For example, our seamen could be held in a city by the so-called black customs, and submitted to bodily search. Great interest is also being shown in the content of captains' safes and efforts to open them have been documented.

The enemy uses foreign seamen who visit our republic, to collect military, political and other information it is interested in. Naturally, the majority of them are friendly to the Soviet Union. However, there also are some who are related to the special services and who engage in our country in forbidden activities, to put it mildly. Thus, a map of the estuary of the Daugava, with markings of shore installations, some of them military, an intelligence questionnaire and a package with fresh soil he had collected on the shore, were found in the possession of D. Vepierre, the radio operator of the French MS "Catica."

All sorts of dealers are trying to make use of Latvian territory to ship large batches of smuggled goods. They use transit containers, as many as 10,000 of which regularly cross the republic. The result of our joint work with the customs authorities was the detection, over the past 18 months, of smuggled goods worth about R800,000. Furthermore, last year 1,207 kilograms of hashish, worth R22 million, were confiscated.

Finally, we must not fail to point out the subversive activities of the heads of some Latvian emigre organizations, which are also trying to make use of the processes of democratization in our country to their benefit. They pay particular attention to the legitimately increased interest shown by the population of our republic in the problems which accumulated in the past.

The study of the aspirations of the enemy indicates that he relies in his subversive plans on the enhancement in Latvia of unhealthy manifestations on national grounds as an instrument for dismantling the Soviet political and economic system.

Changes are also being made in the tactics of subversive activities, in with the emphasis shifts to "education" and "explanatory" work. This is expressed by exerting ideological influences on residents of this republic who go abroad, and establishing contacts with the ideologically unstable segment of the republic's population. Possibilities are being sought to give material support to a number of associations of an opposition nature.

At the present time the "World Council of Balts," which is a Soviet emigre organization, is formulating a new approach for subversive activities against the Soviet Baltic republics. Since appeals to separate Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the Soviet Union met with no support among the majority of their populations, the question of a "federation" of such republics is being put on the agenda. The assumption is that this will contribute to organizing and strengthening alternate forces to the official authorities and create an internal opposition which could provide real competition to the CPSU. The "World Council of Balts" intends to exert active pressure on the Western European governments to convince them of the need to promote the idea of a "federation" in the course of their contacts with Soviet representatives on all levels.

"We, who are in exile, can no longer merely react to events. We must anticipate events.... We must go forth slowly, gradually, at all times keeping half a step ahead of the authorities," said last April the priest Ludvig, at the 37th Congress of the "Association of American Letts." He recently left Latvia and is a former member of the "Renaissance and Renovation" group. It is thus that some people in exile conceive of the tactic to be used in the struggle against the Soviet system in the Baltic area.

The republic press has repeatedly reported the specific subversive activities of emigre organizations. An entire book, entitled "*Bankruptcy*" was published (Avots, Riga, 1986).

Incidentally, the Latvian emigres, particularly those belonging to the young generation, include many people who, like many other people in the West, are beginning to realize the nature of the positive changes currently taking place in our country. In my view, the contacts which are being established with them must be comprehensively supported and developed.

You mentioned the press and the unwitting question arises: Is it legitimate to speak of the expansion of glasnost in the security organs, whose work is traditionally associated with a high degree of secrecy?

Let me put it this way: we cannot do at all without glasnost, without expanding and strengthening relations with the working people, and without relying on the masses. This is one of the fundamental principles for the assertion of which F.E. Dzerzhinskiy personally struggled. Actually, we maintained ties with the masses in the past as well. Now, however, this question assumes a new meaning. The republic's KGB workers visit enterprises and organizations more frequently, where they address labor collectives and hold talks. The mass information media publish materials on KGB activities in the Latvian SSR and on KGB history. For example, making use of our files and recollections of former state security personnel, Latvian television filmed and televised the serial motion picture "The Game." It describes the struggle which the republic's Chekists waged against British and American intelligence in the postwar period. Currently this film is being dubbed into Russian and the possibility exists that in the immediate future it will be shown on Central Television.

Nonetheless, everyone probably understands that our work has its specific professional features and that it would be an absurdity to speak of 100-percent glasnost. This is not to say that we are against glasnost. The main thing is for the people to understand against whom and why are the KGB personnel fighting, sometimes even at the risk of their lives.

The KGB personnel must learn how to work under the new political and moral circumstances which are developing today in society. This is one of the main criteria in assessing the efficiency of the committee's cadre apparatus. We must abandon stereotypes and restructure our thinking. Let us point out that this is a complex process. That is why we pay great attention to upgrading the legal standards of the personnel. Everyone of us, regardless of his position, must obey the Soviet laws most strictly. I can say with satisfaction that in recent years there have been no cases of major violations of socialist legality by the Latvian SSR KGB. Our permanent requirement is a responsive attitude on the part of every associate to the fate of the Soviet people.

In general, any violation in the state security system is considered in socialist law as an exceptional case. Each such fact is thoroughly investigated. Regardless of their rank, the culprits are punished strictly. Among others, this has been reported by the central press.

Nonetheless, we know that in the 1930s to the 1950s degenerate associates of state security committed many severe crimes, the consequences of which are also well-known. Are there any guarantees of the fact that violations of socialist legality will not be repeated?

We, Chekists, react with particular pain to the tragedy experienced by the people, the more so since unjustified repressions and violations of legality largely affected the state security organs as well. During those difficult years many noted Chekists, who had begun their activities alongside F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, opposed the illegalities. The price they had to pay is also well know. More than 20,000 highly professional state security personnel, true communists, became the victims of repressions. They include our compatriots Ya. Berzin, M. Latsis, Ya. Peters, V. Stirne and E. Euduk.

We are working under the leadership of a party which controls us. And since our work affects the personal interest of the citizens, KGB activities are under the constant supervision of the prosecutor's office. To a certain extent, this is a guarantee that such gross violations of legality will not be repeated. The main guarantee, however, is the situation prevailing in the party and the society today, and the processes of democratization and expansion of glasnost.

Would public control over the activities of state security organs be possible, shall we say by a special commission of the republic's Supreme Soviet?

The creation of such a commission is entirely possible if a proper resolution is passed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet. As I already mentioned, however, by virtue of the specific nature of the work of the committee, there must be limits to glasnost. You may ask why? For the reason that the activities of foreign special services are deeply conspiratorial and are conducted with the help of the most advanced technical facilities. Naturally, our work as well has its professional secrets.

What about the limits to glasnost for the citizen, who finds himself a subject of attention on the part of the state security organs. Does he have the right to demand explanations concerning his case?

Naturally! The more so since all the criminal cases instigated by our authorities are tried in court at open sessions. Let me emphasize one of the main trends in our work, however, which is prevention. No single form of activities of KGB organs is so consistent with the spirit of democratization as preventive work with people. Its essence is to block promptly any state crimes or antisocial actions which harm the country's security. The Chekists must show increased attention toward citizens who, as a result of their political immaturity, take a wrong step and find themselves involved in antigovernmental activities. The duty of the Chekist is to help such a person to realize his mistakes, to explain to him his errors and to help him to take the right way.

To the best of my knowledge, currently the USSR Law on State Security is being drafted. It will refine the status of the KGB within the system of the state of law.

Furthermore, as of now the state security organs are most directly participating in the drafting of laws which call for simplifying and easing some restrictive measures related to the protection of governmental interests. Since the beginning of this year a great part of Latvian territory was opened to foreigners. Together with the republic's prosecutor's office we are participating in reviewing cases and rehabilitating citizens who were illegally sentenced or repressed. This is a major project to which we ascribe great importance. Our task is to restore the good name of innocent victims. We also condemn the administrative exile of republic citizens of 1941 and 1949 and consider them illegal.

We find the same assessments and requirements in the recently published program of the Latvian Popular Front. Its constituent congress triggered, as we know, great response within the republic and beyond it. A variety of sometimes quite contradictory views have been expressed about the congress. What is your attitude toward the Popular Front?

We support all social formations which contribute to restructuring and to the further advancement of socialism. It is true that the congress excited all Latvian population strata. The founding of the Popular Front is one more confirmation of the ever growing political activeness of the public. The documents of the Latvian Popular Front contain a great deal of features which are constructive and consistent with the tasks of restructuring.

But here is something that demands caution. The absolute majority of the participants in the front are Letts and only about 12 percent are people of other ethnic groups. However, we must not ignore the demographic structure of the population in Riga and in the republic. Furthermore, the documents of the Latvian Peoples Front indicate that the interests of the population of all ethnic groups will be taken into consideration. The working class is poorly represented in the front's assembly, i.e., the social structure of the population has not been taken into consideration. This too is a reality which must be considered.

As we know, a number of politically immature statements and appeals were made at the congress. Since they essentially were not rebuffed by the delegates, the result was a one-sided assessment of the congress among labor collectives, and made many people concerned. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro assessed the congress of the Latvian Popular Front and noted the negative statements and appeals of individual delegates, which had a great influence on the overall atmosphere at the congress.

Recently the establishment of an International Front of Working People in Soviet Latvia was announced. In this connection as well we would like to know your attitude toward it.

As I pointed out, we support anything which is aimed at intensifying restructuring and broadening democracy and glasnost. I will not anticipate events and evaluate that which has only been proclaimed. Time will tell. It is important, however, that from the very first steps there should be within such movements not confrontation but reciprocal understanding, for in the opposite case conflicts are possible, including conflicts on national grounds. This is very dangerous, for which reason it must be prevented. Unfortunately, in my view a process of polarization is developing. Everything possible must be done for reason to prevail over emotions.

We oppose that which is aimed at discrediting restructuring and undermining the socialist system. We shall allow no one to undermine or weaken the foundations of this system. Our duty is to defend restructuring and the revolutionary processes which are taking place today in the country and in the republic.

Public Opinion on Supreme Soviet

LD2911015088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1920 GMT on 25 November broadcasts the latest edition of its "View" program, in which Correspondent Vladislav Tserkovskiy presents a video report on the current situation in Latvia. The report opens over aerial shots of a snow-covered city, captioned: "Riga, November 1988." Tserkovskiy begins with the words "At this time, a routine session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet was being prepared and held. It made decisions on issues of prime importance: the plan and budget, the country's Constitution, and the law on elections. Along with the country as a whole, the republic currently is determining its future: a socialist, democratic, and harmonious future. Nowadays, politics is going out into the streets of the towns."

An interview with an unidentified woman follows, in which she says that she expected from the session "confirmation of what my people expect. Generally, the session did decide a great deal, just as the council [duma] of the Popular Front had decided before. That is what I assume, believe, and confirm." Tserkovskiy asks: All the public forces of the republic appeared as a united front, and there was unanimity at the session? The woman responds: Perhaps not all of them. At this point the video shows a man in the background shaking his head emphatically, although another man is heard to say: "Yes, yes." The woman continues: And those pickets who were standing by that building yesterday, out in the street; the posters there were varied too. Here the video shows lines of people outside the Supreme Soviet building carrying posters bearing slogans in Latvian, such as: "Real sovereignty for Latvia" and "We do not need an all-union constitution for Latvia."

Inside the building, Tserkovskiy interviews Kneksis Ilgonis, deputy from the town of Tsesis. He says: Hello. Excuse me. You, no doubt, are one of the deputies, as I see you are wearing a deputy's badge. Behind you, down there, are people carrying posters. I have noticed that for the most part, they are all as young as you (Ilgonis appears to be in his 30's). Almost all of them are young people—students, in fact. What do you think: are they your electors? Do you reflect their interests at this session? Ilgonis replies: Well, how should I put it? My electors. I am not from Riga myself, but all the same the electors, so to speak, can be seen as mine. As for the view expressed on the posters, perhaps some of them put this demand, this viewpoint, in a rather sharp way that is unacceptable at the present time.

Next, the video moves to the demonstrators outside, concentrating on the posters. One is a large map labeled: "Latvia" in Latvian. The words "Republic of Latvia" are heard in Russian in the background as the camera pans the crowds, coming to rest on a bearded young man to whom Tserkovskiy puts the question: You represent the Popular Front of Latvia? The man replies: That is correct. Tserkovskiy then asks another man: On whose behalf are you here? He answers: I am here on behalf of the support group for setting up an "interfront." The video juxtaposes the two men and their posters. The interfront supporter has a poster in Russian, proclaiming: "No political adventurism!" The Popular Front man's banner declares in Latvian: "Deputies! Do not become puppets in the hands of neo-Stalinists!"

Tserkovskiy remarks: We have noted the fact that both sociopolitical movements have chosen as their main tasks support for the 19th CPSU Conference decisions and support for restructuring in general, for the policy of restructuring. Nonetheless, your movements believe they are alternatives to one another. Is that so? The interfront supporter says: No, there is no way we envisage our movement as opposition to the Popular Front. It simply has developed historically that to date, the Popular Front unites the Latvian-speaking population to a certain degree, while Russian speakers have been excluded from the movement, although in my view, the Popular Front platform, in theory, is a largely constructive one. It is supported by the entire population of the republic, absolutely. Tserkovskiy asks: The Popular Front, you mean? The interfront man replies: The Popular Front, although there are points with which I, for example, find it hard to agree. Pressed for an example, the interfront man responds: We all are in favor of republican financial autonomy, but everyone understands it in his own way. In my view, the way it currently is interpreted by the Popular Front, well, it has somewhat, well, isolationist tendencies.

Asked if he agrees with the other man's assessment, the Popular Front representative says: I do not agree, especially on the point about isolationism. In my opinion, the interfront is just a movement, you know. So far, the most astonishing thing about it is that it has no platform, no charter, no drafts. Nothing has been published, but people are joining it. That is strange, somehow, is it not? The interfront man interjects: And therefore, talking about a programmatic or other kind of disagreement with the interfront has no foundation, in my view. I am convinced that the interfront platform will be out in a week or so. And I am sure that no inhabitant of the republic who thinks constructively will find any point in the platform objectionable. I can say that for certain. If it were not so, I would be the first to leave the movement.

The Popular Front representative remarks: It is written specifically that all our republics are sovereign and equal, but it is not so in practice. The interfront man adds: The main thing is that, as it were, the sovereignty of each republic really should be guaranteed. Therefore, I believe it a perfectly reasonable proposal that the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet should vote according to groups from the republics. If a republic protests against a decision and does not accept it, the decision should not be adopted. The Popular Front representative interjects: Listening to this comrade now, I am already starting to agree with him on some points, and I am thinking: God grant that all interfront supporters are like him. Then we will have found a dialogue. The video then shows another poster, this one in Russian, bearing the words: "Soviet Latvia is our common home!"

Tserkovskiy is next seen apparently inside the Supreme Soviet building again, talking to Ivans Daynis, chairman of the Council of the Popular Front, who says: We are simply a public organization that is creating a specific political climate within the republic, an organization agitating in practice for the stepping-up of the restructuring process. Asked what political methods the group finds most acceptable, Daynis answers: Well, first of all, agitation for the ideas of the Popular Front, which in general are the ideas of restructuring. Committees have been set up within the Popular Front which are working along various lines. For example, the political committee is working out tactics. I am not going to expand on particular methods, but the political committee is developing tactics as to how we should behave in given situations. We will try to ensure that people understand that our envoys, our leaders, must not be amoral individuals, that the policy they conduct is humanitarian and moral. That is what is most important. Tserkovskiy asks whether or not the Popular Front is organized according to nationality. Daynis replies: No, we do not even have a section for nationalities in our structure.

Tserkovskiy ends the report over a video of a family watching television at home. He says: The Supreme Soviet session continued its work. The evening's live television relay brought it into citizens' homes. Our meetings with people also continued. There will be an account of some of these meetings in the next edition of the program.

Gorbunov Interviewed on Forum

LD0412035488 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Interview with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, by correspondent Alla Arkadiyeva; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Arkadiyeva] Latvia is our common home. It is under this slogan that the Latvian people's forum will be held in Riga on 10-11 December. [passage omitted]

Preparations for it are underway in a very serious and responsible way. An organizational committee has been set up, which is headed by Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Gorbunov] Many people in our republic are expressing their anxiety and concern about relations between the nationalities, and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium shares this anxiety. This why the idea was born to hold a forum of the peoples of Latvia, bearing in mind that each people living and working in Latvia has some pain: perhaps there is some kind of sense of grievance, or there are some sort of proposal that Latvia should really be a common home for those who work and live here, so that we should all be answerable for this home of ours.

[Arkadiyeva] I do not know if you will agree with me or not, but there seem to be two trends in each movement: the basic democratic forces are there, but in both fronts, speaking of the Popular Front and Interfront, there are some sort of extremist groupings which are actually manifesting themselves more clearly today. As for the differences between the two fronts, they are producing a new lack of understanding among people about what is happening, and this will probably lead to a sort of worsening of relations between nationalities. To come to an agreement nevertheless, the Latvian peoples' forum is probably essential.

[Gorbunov] Yes, the question is complex on many levels. Perhaps you will allow me to try to divide my answer into two parts.

In my understanding, every problem has its cause and its effect, or there is the manifestation of this cause. So, the fronts are only the consequences or manifestations of certain causes, the causes of national problems. If we say there are problems between nationalities, between peoples, that means the peoples are dissatisfied with something. This is then reflected in a sense of grievance, in claims that someone is guilty of something, that we are being trampled, and so on. All peoples have national problems.

The first to state their problems painfully were the Latvians, about their language, their cultural and historical symbols, and—and this would seem a general question, not just one for Latvians—the environment. But for the Latvians in many places it is not simply environment, it is history and culture mixed in.

As you know, the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic have already made decisions on some of these questions, or so far [word indistinct] the question of immigration remains as a draft which has been published for discussion. But these decisions were not received unambiguously by other groups of the population—or, let us not beat around the bush, by other nationalities. For me it is important to say why this happened. It would have seemed that it was all logical, but in the first place we did not manage to explain. Here in this republic the level of information of the Russian-speaking population about the problems of the republic—it must be said straight out—is poor. We are also correcting this now.

I must speak immediately about a second issue. It is not so much a matter of lack of information as it is that they did not understand us. There is a much more important cause: We must tackle the national problem of other poeples in parallel. For example, talking about language, the Russians living in the republic must know their guarantees, their rights, and the prospects for the development of the Russian language. By 1 January there will be a draft law on languages, so that everyone will feel calm. Bilingualism must be affirmed in reality. What does this mean? This means that you and I must know both languages—not to an equal extent, it is true, because the functions of the languages are different. Nevertheless, if, for example, I speak Latvian you will understand, and if you feel more comfortable in Russian, I will understand you.

It is more difficult with state institutions. If someone speaks Latvian, he should get his form in Latvian, and instructions. But again, this is one of those matters, the (?improvement) of which aroused dissatisfaction. I am getting around to saying that, for example, it is necessary to solve not only the national problem of the Latvians, but others' problems to an equal extent. It is true we must not forget that for all those of us living in in Latvia it is our international duty to make sure that the Latvian language does not disappear, that the Latvian culture does not disappear. I think this is an international duty. It is not just a matter of thinking that the Latvians should have priority and the others shoult not. The general question should not be put like that. Our very culture of associating together should lead to that, as a result of both goodwill and of conviction.

The second part—I am giving you a very complex answer!—the second part is the fronts. The fronts. You see, the stormy activity going on here now, what does it show? It is the line of our party toward democratization, the line, or the manifestation of this line in practice. The Popular Front sprang up, well, I even expected that something of the sort would happen. [words indistinct] there is a need for organizational forms. That mass of ideas which await actuality, well, how are they to be manifested in organized form? Let us be frank: In the period of stagnation a lot of things were compromised, and people are sometimes psychologically unable to accept even a good form. So such a form as the Popular Front was born. Then you are right, that in each movement there are democratic forces—we sometimes call them progressive ones, but then we sould have to say reactionary—but perhaps we won't use these words [words indistinct] applies fully to the Popular Front and to its founding congress.

The founding congress showed (?how far) very many active people who were, so to say, (?moved aside) somewhere in something and had some sense of grievance, had begun to act in the Popular Front; and here they pushed their way through to the rostrum. Then later when I chatted with some of them, and asked what they were trying to say, and what they wanted to achieve [words indistinct] there was no time. There was no time, and for that reason [words indistinct] and then we somehow came to the common opinion that if there is, let us say, a sense of grievance, it is no less important to express [words indistinct] grievance, and sometimes even perhaps first and foremost when it is a matter of such questions as relations between nationalities. Then to every action there is a counteraction. This is the law of dialectics. (?The birth of Interfront can be called by such a name).

Of course this is a counteraction (?with issues) many people could not accept. It also has some very healthy forces, and of course people of a mood to express their grievances in such a form that their expression will again give rise to a further grievance. Here we would like to speak clearly about this at the forum of the peoples. We must not allow one grievance to give rise to another, and let it spiral upward.

[Arkadiyeva] Here we will end this conversation with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. You can hear the continuation in the next edition of the program.

International Front Described

LD0512151688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] In Latvia a code of regulations of the International Workers Front of the republic has been published. The front includes 300,000 representatives of various nationalities. TASS correspondents have met Bukashkin, cochairman of its organization committee and departmental head in the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers. This is what he said about the reason for setting up the front and about its tasks:

The nationwide restructuring movement that has now embraced the whole country has become divided, as it were, into two opposing camps. All this began with a serious mistake committed by lower party organizations, as well as by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. They decided to play a waiting game in the restructuring processes. Not only are there economic, ecological, and everyday problems, but interethnic relations—to the alleviation of which neither the local press, nor local radio or television have contributed—have become acute.

At the beginning, the collective of our institute actively supported the Popular Front, Comrade Bukashkin continued. We even set up a Popular Front branch in the institute, numbering 500 members, and sent a delegation of four representatives to the constituent congress of this movement. (Oboltensh), (Peterson), (Vinogradov), (Panasenko), who are scientists repected in the republic, pointed to the fact that the Popular Front's regulations contradict the CPSU's code of rules. They were therefore removed from the list of delegates of the Popular Front congress.

After this, the creation of an international front began. The desire to prevent interethnic divisions brought thousands of people to the International Front literally within a few days.

In October, representatives of 153 Latvian enterprises gathered in the House of Culture of the Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers. They mapped out the program and regulations of the International Front. These documents confirm the leading role of the party in our society and its dedication to the construction of socialism. Strengthening friendship between peoples has been described as one of its main tasks.

Interfront Members Interviewed

PM2711165088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with scientists from the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers E. Aboltinsh, S. Bukashkin, V. Drachev, and S. Sokolov; A. Alekseyev, deputy chief of the administration of local trading organizations; A. Libert, employee of the "Zapryba" wholesale base; and V. Kalinin, worker at the "VEF" Association, by SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA employee V. Dubrovskiy and PRAVDA correspondent O. Meshkov in Riga, under the rubric "The USSR—Our Common Home": "Carrying Out Restructuring Together"—date of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Riga—A meeting held not long ago on Latvian Television's "Political Debates Club" attracted great attention among viewers. One could be so bold as to say that on that evening the greater part of the republic's population gathered in front of the blue screen. And the reason for this unanimous interest was that this was the first meeting between representatives of the Latvian Popular Front and the newly formed International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR. And while the Popular Front, whose founding congress was held in the first few days of October, has repeatedly declared itself, both in its delegates' speeches and in program documents, for Interfront [International Front] this was the first television appearance.

What are the reasons for the emergence of Interfront, especially so soon after the Latvian Popular Front congress? This was the starting point for our conversation with scientists from the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers E. Aboltinsh, chief of the physics faculty, S. Bukashkin, chief of the theoretical radio engineering faculty, V. Drachev, chief of the political economy faculty, and S. Sokolov, lecturer at the Marxist-Leninist philosophy faculty; A. Alekseyev, deputy chief of the administration of local trading organizations; A. Libert, employee of the Riga "Zapryba" wholesale base and participant in the Great Patriotic War; and V. Kalinin, worker at the "VEF" association.

Correspondents: It is well known that both fronts declared in their program documents that they are founded as movements in support of restructuring. So what prevented its supporters from uniting within the ranks of the Latvian Popular Front, especially since Interfront declared itself much later?

A. Libert: Frankly, the idea of setting up the Popular Front attracted many supporters from the outset. The processes of glasnost and democratization that are now taking place in our society stimulated the activeness of the working people's masses. And people saw the formation of the Latvian Popular Front as an opportunity to become actively involved in restructuring. But even at the initial stage—during preparations for the Popular Front founding congress—the first signs of anxiety and dissatisfaction began to emerge among a significant proportion of the republic's population. The joint plenum of Soviet Latvia's creative unions that was held, for all the topicality and urgency of the questions it raised, nevertheless, in my view, because of individual contentious propositions, helped to start the polarization of society. The mass media also joined in whipping up passions.

In the prevailing atmosphere, the course of preparations for the Latvian Popular Front founding congress and the drafts of its documents gave rise to a number of serious objections, because in many ways they were not in the interests of the peoples of Latvia and the working class. Unfortunately in these difficult conditions the republican party organization adopted a passive stance. True, it must be noted that many Communists deemed it possible nonetheless to participate in the formation of the Latvian Popular Front, in the hope that the problems that have arisen will be resolved by democratic means.

E. Aboltinsh: That was the form the situation took at our institute and a number of other organizations and enterprises. But our hopes collapsed at the Latvian Popular Front founding congress, to which I was a delegate. Its work was relayed by republican radio and television, and really infuriated the republic's population. Concern was caused from the outset by the fact that the ethnic composition of the congress delegates, who represented some 110,000 people, was divided as follows: about 88 percent Latvians, the rest representatives of other nationalities. For a republic where approximately half the population is (to use the current terminology) Russian-speaking, this front cannot in effect be called a popular front.

In addition the atmosphere that prevailed in the auditorium could hardly be described as normal, when nationalist, extremist, anti-Soviet, and anticommunist statements prompted ovations from the congress delegates. And yet, according to the credentials commission, one in three delegates was a Communist.

Another fact that had negative implications was that those elected to the Latvian Popular Front Duma were mainly representatives of the intelligentsia and informal associations, with only a small number of representatives of workers.

As a Communist, I could not agree with a number of provisions of the Latvian Popular Front's program documents, so it would have shown a lack of principles to remain in the Popular Front. Therefore I left.

Correspondents: These were doubtless the prime factors, so to speak. Perhaps they could even be described as emotional factors to some extent. But doubtless there were more substantive factors too?

S. Sokolov: Of course. The members of the Duma are now issuing statements saying that what was said at the congress is one thing, and the program documents are another. But first, in that case, where are the true aims of the Latvian Popular Front to be found—in the former or in the latter? And second, these documents say that restructuring should be implemented first and foremost in the interests of the indigenous nation of Latvia, and not of all peoples of the republic. They aim to establish a privileged position of political and moral superiority for the Latvians.

V. Drachev: I would like to add that for social scientists, and not only for us, the abrupt stepping up of separatism is plain to see. Appeals that go as far as to demand Latvia's secession from the USSR are made not only at rallies, but even on television and radio programs and in a number of press publications.

Correspondents: To sum up your remarks, can one conclude that all this was what led to the idea of setting up the Interfront?

V. Kalinin: Yes. At enterprises and institutions the time was ripe, so to speak. And therefore when a meeting of working people took place on 14 October at the Riga "Latviya" Sewn Goods Association club to discuss this question, representatives of about 70 labor collectives took part. Including the following associations: "VEF," "REZ," "Radiotekhnika," "Alfa," "Pirmay Mays," the Baltic Railroad, the freightcar plant, and a number of others. Here a decision was adopted on the need to form a new social organization, the International Front, with the aim of accelerating the restructuring process in the republic in accordance with the 19th all-union party conference resolutions.

On 18 October representatives of 153 labor collectives met at the Riga Red Banner Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers Culture Institute, and gave their support to the idea of setting up Interfront. According to the most modest calculations, today they number more than 300,000 people. They include Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Jews....

S. Bukashkin: In its first documents Interfront stated that its aim is to unite workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia, and consolidate all healthy forces in our society in the struggle for restructuring on a platform of internationalism.

Correspondents: On this basis, does this mean that the International Front is an alternative to the Latvian Popular Front?

S. Bukashkin: Our tasks coincide in many respects. This applies first and foremost to economic and ecological questions, the restriction of uncontrolled migration, the resolution of interethnic problems, and so forth. Here we are prepared to cooperate on a basis of equality.

Interfront will also advocate proportional representation of all peoples of the republic in the soviets at all levels, and will oppose any attempts to flout the political rights of the inhabitants of Soviet Latvia, including attempts to adopt an undemocratic law on citizenship.

Correspodnents: You spoke of the flouting of the political rights of the nonindigenous section of the republic's population. The editorial office of the republican newspaper and the PRAVDA correspondents' office are currently receiving many letters whose authors ask: Is the process that has now begun of dividing schools into those that teach in Latvian and those that teach in Russian not an infringement of the rights of a significant proportion of the population? Perplexity and concern were aroused among teachers by the results of elections of delegates from the republic to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers. Can it be right that there will not be a single representative at the congress from the 198 Russian schools, or from among the VUZ workers of non-Latvian nationality?

Bukashkin: I agree. We are very worried that there is in the republic a marked trend toward the elimination of mixed schools where teaching is in both languages. Apart from the fact that this runs counter to the aims of the international education of children, one can detect the logic of an unrealistic approach in the resolution of a comparatively urgent matter, when children of non-Latvian nationality are forced to move to different schools.

A word about the conference of public education workers that was held. Its results did indeed inflame the broad public. Many teachers, students, schoolchildren, and workers at enterprises are indignant. I think one can agree with the authors of those letters that assess this fact as an infringement on the educational rights of the nonindigenous nationality.

As you can see, there are fairly substantial disagreements. But the main thing now is consolidation on the basis of common interests. The fact that this is possible was shown by the television debate with which we began our talk. Incidentally, during that program we agreed with Latvian Popular Front representatives to refrain in future from mutual accusations, and especially from offensive attacks. But clearly the relaxation of tension that had begun was not to everyone's liking. Literally the next day a veritable storm of false, offensive fabrications rained down on the still embryonic Interfront.

A. Alekseyev: Tension continues to be whipped up in some of the mass media. Thus in an article by the prose writer A. Bels published recently in the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA the thesis of the continuing occupation of Latvia by Soviet troops was again highlighted. I do not think that irresponsible statements like this serve our common cause.

Correspondents: Preparations are now under way in the republic for the forum of Latvia's peoples to be held in the first half of December. Will you be taking part? And in general, what are Interfront's immediate plans?

A. Alekseyev: First and foremost, we are now submitting for wide discussion the draft statutes and program of our organization. Then we plan to convene a founding congress and prepare for the elections to the soviets. As for the peoples' forum, it could and should help to consolidate all healthy forces in the republic. Therefore Interfront will be an active participant.

Correspondents: In an interview for the newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA published in the republican press recently, Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed in connection with attitudes to your movement: "...It would be unreasonable, at best, to counterpose one front to the other. Rather, they are complementary. There are many Communists in each of them. And it is their duty to work toward the unification of these two very important social movements." Can this option be regarded as Interfront's ultimate aim?

S. Bukashkin: You know, the opinion has already been expressed in some places that eventually the healthy forces in the two fronts will merge. And then there will be one united international popular front. Its title could, of course, be different. We are in favor of this outcome. But our rapprochement is only possible on the basis of socialist internationalism and socialist pluralism of opinion.

Correspondents: It would be very nice to conclude the interview on an optimistic note, but the events of recent days give us no grounds for this. You know how the situation deteriorated in the course of preparations for the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session: pressure was brought to bear on deputies, and there was a mass collection of signatures for a petition against ratification of the draft laws.

A. Libert: Indeed, the petition campaign surpassed all reasonable bounds. People were literally attacked at the stations, at work, at home, and in the stores to persuade them to sign up against the constitutional amendments. At the same time there was strong pressure on deputies. The radio, newspapers, and television called on them to take the side of the Latvian Popular Front, that is, to come out against the draft laws.

But the republic Supreme Soviet session was businesslike and the deputies discussed in a constructive spirit what should be changed, and in what way, in the proposed amendments, in order to further develop democracy and strengthen the republic's autonomy.

Interfront recently held a republican conference at which the front's draft statutes and program were discussed. These documents emphasize our desire to rally all the republic's healthy forces in the struggle for our society's renewal.

Party Slow To Spot Rise of Front

PM2511131588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Nov 88 p 3

[Correspondent A. Timkov report under the rubric "Interethnic Relations: History and Present Day": "Emotions and Reason"]

[Text] Latvian SSR—Six months ago hardly anyone probably presumed that not only the Organizational Department of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, but also the Popular Front, would determine candidates for the posts of secretaries during the report and election campaign in rayon party organizations. This public movement, which took shape organizationally at the beginning of October, has quickly become a serious force which has to be reckoned with. Many people have gone along with it, united by the idea of enhancing Lettish culture and asserting social justice in society.

Frankly speaking, the situation had been "overlooked" in a number of raykoms. People had either not assessed it objectively or not attached significance to it, and the initiative was lost. Party workers became agitated only later, but were unable to stand at the head of the growing flood. And since they were unable to head the movement, representatives of the Popular Front did so. They brought people out to rallies, demonstrations, and meetings.

The Freedom Monument in downtown Riga, which used to not get a mention anywhere, as though it did not exist, has become the most magnetic spot. There are many flowers at its foot, and red, white, and red flags flutter—to appear with them not so long ago was to court trouble—and fiery speeches are made.

It is hard to specify the range of topics under discussion—they range from just concern over how to resolve urgent problems more quickly, to obvious taunts like "Latvia for the Letts." Words which are offensive to thousands of people living in the republic—"occupiers" and "migrants"—and calls for secession from the USSR are heard.

These statements elicit far from unequivocal assessments in the republic's multinational society. Not all members even of the Popular Front, and not all Letts, share and approve of harsh judgments. However, they are not being given a worthy rebuff. The other, chiefly Russian-speaking half of the republic's population, though it supports the just aspirations of the Lettish people, is alarmed at the extremist slogans and the actions being taken.

Sober-minded people, of whichever nationality, are well aware that confrontation and division into "us" and "them" will lead to no good. M. Chaklays, editor of the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, is clearly right to say that interethnic relations have not been cloudless in the past. But now that the period of silence has ended, harshness of judgments and extremes of assessments and conclusions have come to light.

It is hard to be objective when a grievance dims your eyes and mind. The idea of regional economic accountability, aimed at increasing independence, has met with support from far from everyone. An attempt to stand apart, to cut themselves off from their neighbors, and even to secede from the USSR can be perceived behind the desire to make themselves the masters on their own territory. The draft law on measures to reduce the influx of manpower from outside the republic is regarded as an infringement of human rights.

The growth of national consciousness has caused euphoria in a certain section of the population and given rise to irresponsible statements and appeals. Fuel is being added to the flames by attempts to blame all the difficulties on people who have moved into the republic. It is around this that passions are being inflamed. The founding congress of the Latvian Popular Front [LPF] made a considerable contribution to this. Many points in its program of socioeconomic transformations are supported primarily by the Lettish population. Representatives of other nationalities, who make up approximately half the republic's population, have greeted it with more restraint. Rapprochement has proved more difficult since the congress, at which many speeches that were offensive to Russian-speaking inhabitants were heard, along with appeals of an anti-Soviet and antisocialist nature.

The leaders of the Popular Front have dissociated themselves from the extremist sallies, but the gap dividing people along national lines still remains and has increased mistrust and anxiety. This question is rightly put: When were the LPF leaders being sincere? When they stood to applaud overtly provocative speeches, or now that they have deemed them inappropriate and harmful?

It is possible to understand popular doubts. While disowning the harsh speeches, the Popular Front has left in its ranks those who delivered them. They are continuing to speak and agitate for their program. Despite the appeals for cooperation and cohesion, the LPF remains chiefly a movement of the Lettish population. Representatives of other nationalities make up 10 percent of its adherents.

It is easier to introduce confusion and discord among people but harder to set up a process leading to tranquillity and mutual respect. Ordinary everyday squabbles, to which no attention used to be paid, are now frequently regarded as interethnic conflicts. Demarcation is taking place within production collectives and party organizations. It has also affected schools with instruction in two languages. Appeals are being made for their separation without delay, even before the end of the academic year.

Passions are being inflamed, and the elemental forces of rallies are raging. Pickets and banners are appearing in the streets. You frequently see posters even in children's hands, even though it is not easy for every adult to understand their true substance. What convictions will the children develop, and what will grow up in their souls which are open to good and bad? We should reflect, stop, and think soberly about where we are going and what we want....

While campaigning for restructuring, our society's renewal, and the revival of national traditions, the LPF leaders are, nevertheless, doing much to destabilize the situation. It is proposed to reject in an ultimatum-like manner the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution which has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Pressure is being put on deputies of the republic and the USSR Supreme Soviets. These actions are being coordinated with the Popular Fronts of Lithuania and Estonia. Categorical demands not to discuss the draft have been made in the youth newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE and on republic television, and the collection of signatures for a protest has been announced. And this entire scenario has been implemented without delay. The planned action was aimed at muffling the voices of people who wish for changes in society, not just verbally but through actions. Under such conditions, when a different opinion which does not coincide with the line of the Popular Front is declared seditious, it is hard to achieve consolidation. People who disagree with the LPF's actions and its chosen tactic are rallying around the International Front, which supports restructuring and the party's leading role. The attitude to this movement in the republic is also equivocal. Voices are calling for it to be banned and deemed illegal. A hail of rebukes and threats has rained down upon the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, which has made pages available for setting forth the new movement's aims (incidentally, this has also been done for the Popular Front). Certain Popular Front activists have gone so far as to begin demanding the newspaper's closure.

We must not close our eyes to the fact that there are not only champions of restructuring but also extremists in each of the fronts. However, there is a lack of considered assessments, including assessments by party workers. The contrasting of one popular initiative with another hinders the pooling of efforts in the interests of restructuring and gives rise to confrontation, arguments, and clashes. People in labor collectives are saying bitterly that they are fed up with the elemental forces of rallies and meetings, which have hit them like an avalanche. They want to live and work quietly, without dividing society along national lines. Unfortunately, the republic party organization has not gotten its bearings in this situation in time. And the belated reaction is giving rise to a belated result.

Only recently the peasantry, which has its own concerns, remained uninvolved in what is happening in the cities. Now it, too, is being drawn into the maelstrom of events. The republic Kolkhoz Council has urged farm leaders to assist the LPF. Why it alone? Not only moral, but also material support is being given. Money is used to pay the wages of the movement's leaders and to develop organizational and propaganda work. The Kolkhoz Council is now initiating the creation of a union of the peasantry. This is explained by the fact that it is necessary to unite all sections of rural working people, including sovkhoz workers and farmers. There are grounds for believing that the union will be one more sociopolitical organization. Articles calling for the formation of a union of workers have also begun appearing in the republic press.

There is nothing bad in the creation of new public organizations in itself. But why are they emerging? If it is in order to propose a creative program of transformations and to accelerate changes for the better in practice, they can only be welcomed. And yet stormy rallies and demonstrations frequently merely destabilize the situation, exacerbate the problems, and sow national discord. I believe that true champions of restructuring must not play into the hands of forces which are virtually hindering healthy changes in society, but express their position more clearly.

National Front Publishes Program

WA1800016288 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

["Program of the Latvian Republic's National Front"]

[Text] The Soviet regime was created in order to carry out the aspiration of all the people—workers, peasants, and intelligentsia—for freedom, prosperity, social justice, and national equity. However, Stalin's despotism and the years of stagnation which followed it led to substantial deformations in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of society, as well as in national relations. A deep gap opened up between words and deeds, between the bureaucratic apparatus and the people; society entered upon a crisis situation.

At the present time we have a historic opportunity to get out from under the onerous burden of the past, to revive the Leninist principles of socialism, and to shape a society which will respond to the people's interests, needs, and will. Restructuring was initiated from above, but only the energetic participation of people defending democracy and law and order from below can make it irreversible.

A major restructuring and moral renewal of society constitute the principal condition of its existence and development.

The nation has woken up in order to overcome the crisis, the stagnation, and the people's alienation from the political system. The National Front is the expression and active conductor of the people's ideas.

I. General Principles

1. The Latvian National Front (NFL) is a mass sociopolitical organization in this republic. It arose as a result of the people's patriotic and political activity and unites like-minded persons. It consistently supports major restructuring in Latvia on the principles of democratic socialism and humanism; it takes part in carrying out the people's will through the Soviets of People's Deputies and in creating a legitimate socialist state in accordance with the republic's sovereignty. The NFL is opposed to any monopolization of power, opinions, or ideas.

2. The NFL supports and consolidates the aspirations of Latvia's entire population, aimed at democratizing society and facilitating its moral renewal. The NFL unites people regardless of their social position, language, party, religions, or national affiliation.

Participation in the NFL is incommensurate with preaching Stalinist, Fascist, or any other authoritarian opinions, with supporting administrative-command methods of bureaucratic rule, with preaching racism, nationalism, religious, or any other hatred and intolerance, or with the support of violent force. The NFL functions by means of democratic, constitutionally recognized methods.

3. The NFL advocates the formation of national relations based on the Leninist principles of the self-determination and equal rights of nations within a union of Soviet states.

The NFL supports the development of political, economic, and cultural ties among the Baltic republics, as well as among the countries of the Baltic Sea Basin.

4. In carrying out the tasks provided for by its Program and Charter, the NFL cooperates with the Soviets of People's Deputies and other state institutions, as well as with public organizations. The NFL has no aspirations to assume for itself the functions of any state organs whatsoever nor to replace any other public organizations.

5. The NFL's activity is based upon general human values, humanism, and a pluralism of views, a respect for the rights of all peoples, social justice, respect for man and the defense of his legitimate interests.

The activity of the Latvian National Front is founded on the principles set forth in the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference, on the basic positions stated by this republic's Communists and workers on the eve of the 19th party conference, as well as in the resolution of the June (1988) expanded plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union.

II. Democratization of the State and Society

1. The NFL supports the radical reform of the political system proposed by the 19th all-union party conference, aimed at achieving a genuine correspondence of Soviet statehood, as proclaimed in the Constitution, to the concept of a state for all the people. Instead of a political system which functions merely pro forma in the name of the people but which is alienated from them, we must create a genuine people's regime and self-government. All the elective organs, ranging from the councils of workers' collectives right up to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, should be formed of representatives who express the thoughts of their electors and who defend their interests. We must pass a new law on elections, providing for the choice of deputies at all levels by means of universal and equitable balloting, open or secret, which will ensure that several candidates are nominated for each post, with guarantees of free competition among diverse opinions and rigorous monitoring controls over the correct determination of the election results. The NFL will render support and aid to those deputies elected by the people, will strengthen their ties with the electors and, at the same time, make sure that they do not refuse to follow the instructions of the electors nor deviate from their pre-election platform. The NFL demands that complete glasnost be assured in the work of the Soviets.

2. The NFL advocates the creation of a legitimate state, a state which is responsible to its citizens, whereas the citizens are responsible to the state in accordance with the law. The people should take part in shaping the legislation by means of a national discussion and voting. We must abandon the procedure whereby the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet can alter a law which has been passed by the entire Supreme Soviet. The NFL calls upon the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to establish a

commission which would exercise monitoring controls on the legality of the activities engaged in by the law-enforcement organs, Armed Forces, state security service, and civil militia.

3. The NFL is struggling to dismantle Stalinism, as well as the administrative-bureaucratic system of Neo-Stalinism, and to transform the USSR from a centralized, federative state into a union of sovereign states; it is for this republic's sovereignty, as proclaimed in the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, and the restoration of the Leninist principles of federalism. Latvia's citizens ought to be masters in their own land and decide all questions independently.

The mutual relations among the republics, as well as the allocation of jurisdictions among the union republics, should be determined on the basis of agreement. This republic must be accorded the right of exercising a veto in solving those problems which affect its interests, as well as implementing the right to independently enter into direct relations with other states and international organizations (the UN, CEMA, UNESCO, IOC, etc.). It is high time that we defined in the Latvian SSR's Constitution the status of a citizen of the Latvian SSR and passed a law regarding citizenship in the Latvian SSR.

4. The NFL decisively opposes manifestations of the administrative-bureaucratic style and the bureaucratization of the state apparatus. Each workers' collective should have the right to solve problems regarding its own activity. The NFL demands the genuine accountability of all state officials to the Soviets of People's Deputies and to the population, as well as the consistent destalinization and decentralization of the state apparatus. Every selection or appointment to a leading state post ought to be carried out with the participation of the Soviets of People's Deputies and their standing commissions.

The NFL recognizes the right of the people to elect competent leaders who enjoy the confidence of this republic's permanent residents and who express their will. The people have the right to form a political system and way of life which respond to their needs.

The NFL does not consider it democratic for any political organization to have a monopolistic right to rule a state or public life.

5. The NFL demands a division of legislative, executive, and judicial power, a differentiation between the functions of party and state in order to eliminate the possibility of concentrating authoritarian power in the hands of one person or a group of persons. It is necessary to create a constitutional court as an independent organ which would be able to monitor the conformity of the Constitution to the law of all normative acts promulgated by state organizations and public organizations, as well as the activity of higher officials. The NFL deems it necessary to bring about a situation whereby the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR elects the procurator of this republic and adopts a law regarding the procuracy of the Latvian SSR.

6. The NFL advocates the full implementation of glasnost in state and public life. It is necessary to pass a law on state secrets. All normative acts which are passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, its Presidium, and the republic's Council of Ministers ought to be published. They should be made accessible to all library and archival holdings which are not secret.

The adoption of such decisions by state and public organs which affect the people should be made openly; and the broad public should be involved in preparing and discussing them.

It is necessary to constantly publish political, economic, demographic, ecological, cartographic, and other information so that the people can objectively evaluate the situation within this republic and genuinely participate in governing it.

We must stop creating barriers to foreign radio and televsion broadcasts.

7. The NFL considers that genuine socialist democracy can be ensured only by a pluralism of opinions, interests, and organizational forms. All mass organizations, including the National Front, must be guaranteed the opportunity to utilize the mass media for expressing and justifying their own views. The problems put forth by the mass media, if they attract the attention of widespread public opinion, must be solved without delay, and the public must be informed about this.

8. We must achieve an improvement of the political climate in this republic, overcoming moods of a lack of confidence, fear, and threats in the political and other spheres of public life. The most complex problems must be solved by means of honest discussions and convictions. The NFL opposes any persecution of people for their political and religious views; it is against any political demagoguery or besmirching of opponents.

III. The Rights of a Person and a Citizen

1. The NFL considers that the foundation of the legal status of a citizen of the Latvian SSR must be the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the following documents, which have been signed and ratified by the USSR: the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as well as the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was adopted in Helsinki. These documents must be published in a mass circulation, and their essence reflected in the Constitution of the Latvian SSR.

2. The NFL demands complete observance of the constitutional norms refarding the inviolability of the individual, his life, and his home, preserving the secretes of correspondence and telephone conversations, as well as guaranteeing other constitutional rights.

We must accord citizens the right to appeal in court the illegal decisions of the state's collegial organs. The presumption of innocence must be consistently observed. It is necessary to improve the laws concerning the detention and arrest of citizens, since in practice detention is employed to influence people illegally. We must guarantee citizens the right to call a lawyer from the moment they are detained. And we must strengthen the protection of citizens' honor and dignity by increasing the responsibility for infringing upon them.

3. The NFL advocates making it possible for every citizen in a state institution to acquaint himself with the information that has been assembled about him, and that he have the opportunity via a court proceeding to dispute the reliability of this information.

4. The NFL demands the revelation of the crimes committed by the Stalinist regime against the Latvian refugees on the territory of the USSR during the 1930's and against the population of Latvia during the 1940's and 1950's—the crimes against humanity. And it demands that the names of the direct organizers and active perpetrators of these and other Stalinist repressions be published. They should be deprived of their privileges and state awards, and they should be held accountable. We ought to remove all legal restrictions which are still in effect on the repressed persons, extend them moral support, reimburse their material losses, and provide them with state pensions. The NFL deems it necessary that the proper organs review all cases of persons condemned for political and religious activities.

5. The NFL deems it necessary that all citizens of the Latvian SSR convicted by a court serve their penal sentences in their own republic; we should not permit entrance to the Latvian SSR by condemned persons from other republics, nor should they be allowed to settle in the Latvian SSR after serving their sentences.

6. The NFL advocates free contact between citizens of this republic and citizens of other states. Limitations placed on persons going abroad or returning to their homeland should be determined solely by law. A refusal to issue a passport for going abroad can be appealed in a court. The NFL considers it unjustified to place limitations on foreign citizens which prevent them from traveling throughout almost the entire territory of this republic. The NFL demands the lifting for citizens of the Latvian SSR of restrictions on the free use of the shore and littoral waters of the Baltic Sea for transport, fishing, aquatic tourism, rest, recreation, and sports, while preserving ecological areas.

7. The NFL demands restoration of this republic's right, as called for by the previous Constitution of the Latvian SSR, to create a territorial military formation in which citizens of the Latvian SSR would be able to perform obligatory military service regardless of their national identity. Persons whose religious or pacifist views do not allow them to serve in the Armed Forces should be permitted to serve for an appropriate term of work in the national economy.

8. While defending man's most important right—the right to life, the NFL struggles for peace and consistently advocates the disarmament and demilitarization of society; it supports the proclamation of the Baltic and Scandinavian region as a zone free of nuclear weapons. The NFL advocates the removal of weapons of mass destruction from the territory of the Latvian SSR, and it is in favor of reducing conventional types of weapons on its territory.

IV. The Nationality Question

1. The NFL considers that we must radically revise the nationality policy which rested chiefly on Stalinist dogmas and doctrines. Any nation, including the Latvian nation, has the right to the existence of an uninterrupted history. The NFL does not support a nationality policy based on the idea that social progress inevitably entails the disappearance of material traits. The NFL advocates preserving national diversity as a fund of civilization's valuables; it renders concrete aid to national minorities.

2. The NFL considers that nationality questions should be decised by taking into account the democratic rights of all nationalities living on the territory of the Latvian SSR, procedding upon the basis of the principles of social justice. The NFL actively participates in the defense of the ethnic interests of all nationalities living in Latvia, their language, culture, education, and religious awareness; it categorically rejects the inciting of national dissension, the insulting and demeaning of the national dignity of any citizen of the Latvian SSR. The defense of our native language and culture should become the duty of every citizen of this republic, regardless of his national affiliation.

3. The NFL proceeds upon the basis that the Latvian people has in this republic the status of an indigenous nation, for Latvia is the historical territory of the Latvian people, the only place on earth where the Latvian nation, Latvian language, and Latvian culture can be maintained and developed. Therefore, the NFL deems it necessary, as a guarantee of the Latvian people's national self-determination, to include in the legislation on the Soviets and the elections to the Soviets a principle according to which the Soviets of this republic at any level must provide for a permanent and irreversible majority of mandated positions which under any demographic situation, will be retained for the representatives of the Latvian nationality.

4. The NFL demands that the status of the state language be confirmed for the Latvian languages in the Constitution of the Latvian SSR. Latvian should become the language of business in all state organs and institutions of the Latvian SSR, whereas Russian is to be used in federative relations. Citizens addressing communications to state organs and institutions of the Latvian SSR can utilize either Latvian or Russian and receive official documents in either language at their own choice. In the sphere of social service we must ensure the free use of Latvian and Russian.

As a means of international communication, citizens can use Latvian, Russian, and other languages upon the principle of mutual agreement.

5. The NFL considers that the deformation of national relations and uncontrolled, spontaneous immigration are leading to irreversible losses both for the Latvian people as well as for the indigenous population of this republic's other nationalities (Russians, Jews, Belorussians, and others) in their culture, language, and well-being.

The NFL calls upon the government of the Latvian SSR to cooperate with the governments of other republics so that, based on the principle of voluntarism, they can help the victims of Stalin's nationality policy to return to their own homeland.

The NFL calls upon the Latvian government to provide the Latvian national minority within the boundaries of Latvia, as well as other national minorities living on Latvia's territory with the necessary conditions for their national self-preservation.

6. Uncontrolled immigration has led to a situation whereby the Latvian people, for the first time in its entire history, is becoming a national minority on its own territory, and its further existence and statehood have been placed in jeopardy. The NFL advocates an immediate halt to immigration but is opposed to expelling any nationality. The NFL rejects the mechanical integration of members of different nationalities against their will (for example, in mixed schools and mixed kindergartens).

7. The NFL considers that the principal cause of the exacerbation of national relations was the policy of national nihilism which was conducted during the period of Stalinism and stagnation. In order to improve national relations, it calls for an analysis to be made of the reasons for theior deformations and the conflicts between nationalities. We must know and understand the history of the deportations which have occurred in Latvia during the 20th century; we must reveal the crimes of Stalinist despotism, aimed at the Latvian and other peoples. The NFL demands an immediate revision of the decrees passed by the July (1959) Plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and that a new evaluation be made of the events caused by them and their relapses. We must thoroughly and exhaustively study the history of the Latvian colonies on the territory of Tsarist Russia and the USSR, as well as the history and life of Latvians in other countries.

8. The NFL considers that we need an objective treatment of Latvian history, particularly the events of 1940; we need to honestly and openly analyze and understand the political, economic, and social consequences of these events. It must be acknowledged that the inclusion of the Latvian republic within the USSR was conducted with the use of force and without elucidating the opinion of the Latvian people.

9. The NFL calls upon all the inhabitants of this republic, regardless of their nationality, to rally together in the struggle against bureaucratism, as well as the consequences of Stalinism and authoritarianism, to actively participate in discussing political, social, economic, and ecological problems in Latvian as well as in Russian. Publications which besmirch or excoriate the national self-awareness and dignity of peoples, which distort Latvia's history and instigate international dissensions are considered by the NFL to be incommensurate with the process of restructuring and democratization.

The NFL calls for recognition of the fact that ensuring the self-preservation of all nations living on the territory of this republic depends upon the sovereignty of the Latvian SSR.

V. Ethics

1. The NFL acknowledges the moral improvement of society and each person individually, based on respect for nature, cultural values, work, and human beings, as the most important component of restructuring. Wr must give shape to a morality which would be based on freedom of the individual, mutual tolerance, respect for human beings, honesty, justice, compassion, and mercy.

2. The NFL advocates the primacy of general human values; it is for the subordination of policy to principles of a morality for which the people and human beings are not a means but the goal.

3. The NFL considers it particularly necessary to revive a lofty attitude toward work, recognizing that a well-executed task and conscientious labor are the principal bearers of good in society.

4. The NFL supports rendering unselfish aid by the public to those persons who need it most—children, the very old, the disabled, and the ill.

5. The NFL acknowledges the role played by religious organizations in the moral renewal of society and in strengthening general human values. In the process of forming a legitimate state, the definition and guarantees of believing citizens and religious organizations become

important. The NFL calls for a rejection of the mandatory study of atheism in the educational system; it is for granting the possibility to study doctrinal faiths, based on principles of voluntarism.

6. Religious organizations of all confessions should be granted the opportunity to publish a general weekly newspaper. Churches ought to be offerred time for regular broadcasts on radio and television. The Bible should be published in a mass, Latvian-langauge circulation. We must review the violations of the law which have been allowed to occur against chuches during the postwar years. In case of necessity, we should return churches, houses of prayer, and church equipment to their congregations.

VI. Culture, Education, and Science

1. The NFL recognizes that every person has the right to study the culture and express himself in it in accordance with his own opinions—to the degree whereby they do not contradict general humanistic and democratic values. The NFL refrains from a simplified division of culture into progressive and reactionary; the NFL opposes its vulgarized ideological and political treatment and calls for tolerance regarding diverse manifestations of culture.

2. In a multi-national society we must have an understanding attitude toward the national feelings of human beings, respect their native languages and national-ethical customs. We musy overcome the difficulties of mutual understanding brought about by cultural differences. The NFL advocates the protection of and respect for the national customs, culture, and language of citizens of all nationalities living in the Latvian SSR regardless of their national affiliation. The NFL defends the right of this republic's indigenous people to preserve on their own ethnic territory the way of life and culture which has evolved historically, to safeguard the existence of their own nation, language, and national distinctiveness. The NFL considers that the mechanical merger of nations and assimilation is a process which leads to the degradation of cultures.

3. The NFL advocates a situation whereby all matters affecting Latvia's culture remain within this republic's competence; it demands independence in establishing ties between the Latvian SSR and foreign countries in the fields of culture, science, education, sports, etc., and it advocates the decentralization of this republic's cultural life. The NFL considers that planning any socioeconomic measure should be carried out taking into acount the consequences of its influence on culture.

4. The NFL recognizes the right of all inhabitants of the Latvian SSR to maintain unrestricted ties with their fellow-countrymen living in the other Soviet republics and abroad, drawing them in along the lines of public and state institutions into a unified cultural process. The NFL considers that the cultural activity of Latvians living abroad is a component of the national culture.

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The NFL demands that opportunities be guaranteed for persons living abroad, as well as foreign organizations, to participate in activities to preserve, restore, and develop Latvia's cultural heritage.

5. The NFL calls for a struggle against the spirit of provincialism in this republic's cultural life; it opposes the fact that the newest manifestations of world culture become known in Latvia only after long delays. And it demands that the public be given widespread access to the treasures of world culture.

We must maintain systematic contacts in the most diverse forms and on various levels in the fields of culture, education, and science.

The NFL deems it necessary to publish an informative periodical bulletin concerning Latvia's culture in Latvian, Russian, English, German, French, Swedish, and other languages.

6. The NFL supports the cultural autonomy of the nationalities living in Latvia, their aspiration to obtain and education in their native language, to establish societies, to exchange information and develop a culture which would correspond to the interests of everybody.

7. The NFL considers that the public should be accorded the opportunity to possess all the cultural treasures which have been created in Latvia's distant and not-so-distant past. The NFL advocates a multifaceted study of the Balts' cultural heritage on the territory of Latvia and beyond its borders; it demands the study, preservation, and popularization of the Latgalians' and Livs' cultural heritage, along with a multifaceted development of all the ethnic groups living on Latvia's territory. The NFL deems it necessary to rehabilitate the cultural and scientific heritage of the Baltic Germans. The NFL demands that the cultural buildings which were constructed with funds contributed by the people be returned to the peoples living in Latvia.

8. The NFL calls for respect to be shown foe folk customs and traditions, rituals, and norms of behavior (folk calendar holidays, religious holidays, manifestations of religious art, funerals, and monuments), respect for

national and regional symbols which reflect the self-awareness of ethnic groups. The NFL advocates the study of the fundamental principles of ethnic culture in the schools.

9. The NFL demands that the public be informed more extensively, and, for that purpose, we must set up staff positions for regular, permanent correspondents of the Latvian newspapers and journals, as well as television and radio, in foreign centers of political and cultural life. The NFL demands a constant study of all processes of the republic's material and spiritual life and their reflection in the public's awareness.

10. The NFL is opposed to incompetent and bureaucratic administration of culture, education, and art; it is against the primitive understanding of the ideological tasks to be performed by culture and is opposed to financing culture and education according to the residual principle. The NFL is against the commercial approach to culture and against the subordination of culture to the marketplace.

11. The NFL calls for a radical improvement in the training of specialists in culture and education with regard to all the necessary fields of specialization. The NFL demands that economic and moral incentives be given to developing those humanities and natural sciences engaged in studying Latvia and the Latvian people and which are necessary to increase their spiritual potential and self-awareness.

12. The NFL advocates the independence of the educational system and improvement of its progressive traditions. The child's individual personality must become the focal point of the educational process. We must abandon the exaggerated emphasis on ideology in preschool and school training. The NFL supports a radical reform of public education, including a demand that we create a system for teaching specialists abroad. The NFL advocates a situation whereby the Latvian SSR's system of public education, regardless of the language of instruction, teaches academic subjects in accordance with standardized curricula and a program which has been developed in this republic, as well as the same time periods of instruction for secondary schools. The NFL favors autonomy for the higher schools, along with an independent academic press.

The NFL demands that military training be abandoned in secondary schools, that students be freed from being called up for compulsory military service; it also demands a basic reform of military training in higher educational institutions.

13. The NFL calls for the retention and safeguarding of the national experiment on creating a residential environment and high standards for crafts; it also proposes the founding of an Institure for Latvia's National Environment and the restoration of the opportunity to obtain a higher education in domestic science. We must recognize design as a full and equal component of industrial production and enhance the role played by architecture in humanizing the spatial environment.

14. The NFL demands the renaming of populated centers, economic, and other organizations, streets, parks, and other facilities and territories whose names were unjustifiably changed during the period of Stalinism, arbitrary rule, and stagnation. It demands the restoration of the previous names in accordance with the historical and cultural realities and norms of the literary language.

15. Opposing the extreme centralization of news and culture, the NFL demands that we abandon duplication of the programs broadcast by the Central Radio and Television in the programs of Latvian Radio and Television.

16. The NFL considers that this republic's science is an inalienable component of its culture and actively supports the high-priority development of the basic sciences. It considers that we must enhance the understanding by the entire society, and particularly by this republic's leaders, of science's place and role in solving the problems of economic, cultural, and social development. The NFL considers that the utilization of scientific and technical achievements to develop the national economy should rest exclusively on scientific evaluations, universally encompassing economic, ecological, cultural, and social aspects, and take into account social interests in all their diversity. One of the most important tasks for science in this republic must be considered the development of competent, well-justified proposals with good future prospects for the subsequent, effective utilization of creative potential, manpower, and natural resources. We must not permit the use of the concept of "scientific and technical progress" for masking incompetent and arbitrary economic policy. In the interests of the high-priority development of agriculture, we must ascertain the high-priority and appropriate branches of science.

17. The NFL advocates approval of the principle of democratism and glasnost in science; it is for the right of scientists to freely state their own opinions and for the independence of scientific expertise and appraisals from administrative rule and departmental motivation.

VII. Social Justice and the Humanization of the Social Environment

1. The NFL advocates the right of any citizen of the Latvian SSR to realize his own capabilities to the maximum in the field of activity chosen by him, as well as to receive wages in accordance with the volume and quality of the work carried out by him. We must eliminate thr wage-leveling factor which took root in the past.

2. The NFL demands that everyone inhabiting this republic receive a minimum amount to live on which is worthy of a human being, taking into account the increased cost of living. The priority of satisfying human needs must be

3. The NFL opposes manifestations of authoritarianism and bureaucratism in the activity of the state apparatus; they demean a person's dignity and transform him into a means for carrying out the instructions of this apparatus.

4. The NFL is categorically opposed to the existence of a caste of nomenklatura staff employees. The NFL considers that any privileges in the distribution of material goods and in the field of social services, particularly in health care, in the area of recreation, and also in social security, are incommensurate with general human morality and with the fundamental principles of socialism.

5. The NFL has set us the task of achieving social justice among all the regions of the Latvian SSR in development with regard to satusfying social and cultural needs, as well as the distribution of food and industrial goods.

6. One of the chief tasks in solving the social problems and the nationality question is considered by the NFL to be normalizing the demographic situation. We must create an effective system of juridical and economic measures which would facilitate shutting off the mechanical inflow of the population. We must implement urgent measures to provide the indigenous population of all nationalities with well-laid-out apartments, kindergartens, and other services of the social infrastructure. We must attain complete glasnost in the matter of distributing social goods, above all, in guaranteeing the public monitoring of apartment allocation.

7. The NFL considers that during the years of Stalinism and stagnation the family was brought to a critical situation, and, therefore, we must enhance its role in society by making the rearing of children in the family equal to any other remunerated work, strengthen the rights of mothers, create for women the opportunities to fully perform the role of a mother in the family, step up state support of families with many children.

8. The NFL considers that a person's suitability for a job is determined not by his belonging to the nomenklatura, party, social origin, nationality, or personal ties, but rather by the person's capabilities and the results of his practical activity.

9. The NFL advocates a sharp improvement in the status of education, and particularly the humanities, in society. We must facilitate the material and moral support of this process, oppose discrimination against the intelligentsia in various spheres of economic and social life.

10. The NFL sets forth the task of struggling against outmoded social doctrines, against reflecting social processes in the spirit of Stalinism and Neo-Stalinism, as well as against the falsification of history. We must achieve a situation whereby the planning and forecasting of social development rest on the objective positions of science and serve to ensure the multifaceted and free development of human beings, rather than the attainment of narrow, political goals, or social demagoguery.

VIII. Economy

1. A radical restructuring of the economy is possible only with a simultaneous reform of the political system.

Guarantees of all human rights comprise an important condition of economic development. Placing restrictions on political, ideological, and other opinions also retards economic activity. Development of national culture and self-awareness stimulates economic development. A lofty moral attitude toward work is also fostered by the ethical values of religion.

2. The NFL considers that the economy should be keyed to enhancing the people's well-being. Planning the economy as a end in itself must become a means of achieving humane goals.

3. The NFL recognizes the need to constitutionally confirm foor this republic the right to own land and the resources in its depths, the inland and territorial waters, the sea shelf, forests, and all property produced using state funds and located on Latvia's territory. This republic's economic activity is based upon the Latvian SSR's right to independently possess its own property, to dispose of it, and utilize it.

4. The NFL supports and actively facilitates the economic independence of the Latvian SSR—with regard to managing and developing production and distributing the goods produced. In order to achieve this goal, the republic must make the transition to full cost accounting.

5. The NFL demands the abolition of the All-Union subordination of enterprises, organizations, and farms, banks, and networks, means, and systems of transportation, energy engineering, and communications situated on this republic's territory.

The sphere of this economically sovereign republic's competence includes organizing the activity of banks and monetary circulation, introduction of our own currency, establishment of a procedure for exchanging it, and its rate of exchange in relation to other currencies, including rubles, as the common currency of the USSR.

6. We must sharply upgrade the role played by the Soviets of People's Deputies in managing the national economy, in developing and supporting the social infrastructure, and in environmental protection. For this purpose we need to create an effective system of taxes

and payments with the aid of which the local Soviets will obtain for their disposal a portion of the deductions from enterprises' profits, payments for the use of manpower and natural resources, along with other payments.

7. The NFL considers that the development of economic democracy and a feeling of being a master are a component of the democratization of a society. Therefore, the NFL supports a multiplicity of forms of ownership (state, public, cooperative, personal, and private), as well as the securing of these forms by constitutional guarantees. The NFL supports the transfer of state enterprises, on the basis of contract agreements, to labor collectives, cooperatives, public organizations, regional institutions of self-government, and individuals.

8. The NFL considers that organs of state administration should not directly manage economic activity. Economic enterprises must act independently, under the conditions of full cost accounting in accordance with the law and the contract agreements which have been concluded.

9. The NFL advocates Latvia's independence in supporting and developing inter-republic and foreign economic ties. These ties should be based on the cost equivalent of goods exchanged, or work or services performed.

We must create favorable conditions in this republic for investments of foreign capital, particularly the capital of Latvian emigrants, as well as for various economic, scientific, and technical activities which correspond to this republic's interests.

10. The NFL considers that the structure of the national economy should correspond to the genuine possibilities and needs of the republic; in case of necessity, we should plan to restructure or even close down certain enterprises.

The NFL advocates the development of the Latvian SSR's national economy exclusively based on local manpower resources. In this connection, the republic should, first of all, reduce the unjustifiably large number of job slots.

Industry must be keyed, above all, on science-intensive production, on the local scientific potential, and on the effective use of labor and raw-material resources. We recommend decentralization and deconcentration of the economy, along with a more even territorial distribution of production..

11. The NFL recognizes the priority of agriculture and advocates the consistent implementation of this course. Of great importance is the formation of organs of self-government and the creation of favorable socioeconomic conditions strengthening the prestige of the peasant and facilitating the rebirth of the village. The NFL advocates inclusion of the farmstead type of farm management within thr over-all system of the farm economy, as well as the transfer of land to the peasants for their permanent use with the right of passing it on to their heirs.

12. The NFL considers that in the sphere of production and services, especially in the rural areas, we should continue to develop cooperative and individual economic activity.

13. The NFL believes it necessary to ensure the development of economics and education at the present-day level and to facilitate international cooperation in this field.

14. The NFL demands a multifaceted and timely discussion, with the aid of the mass media, of all economic programs and the drafts for the construction and renovation of publicly important projects. We need to conduct independent, scientific, expert appraisals of newly built projects. These expert appraisals must meet not only technical, economic, and ecological requirements, but must also define how the project being planned will affect the national stocks, standard of living, and customary traditions of the population of the particular locality (populated center) involved. All economic and construction programs should be approved by the appropriate Soviet of People's Deputies.

15. The NFL considers that we must ensure the protection of the interests of citizens as consumers of goods and services. Appropriate social institutions should be established for this purpose. The public ought to be regularly informed concerning the quality of the principal food and non-food items.

We must develop a law which would establish criminal responsibility for the production and marketing of food products containing substances dangerous to people's health.

16. The NFL considers that the main goal of developing Latvia's economy is, above all, to provide this republic's population with food and consumer goods. We should carry out constant research studies on the changes in the population's standards of living and publish the results of these studies.

IX. Ecology

1. The NFL considers that improvement and normalization of the environment ought to become an important trend in the cause of preserving the people's physical and moral health. In order to utilize natural resources and protect the environment, the NFL considers that we need to develop a concept and a program for radically improving the ecological situation. For this purpose we need to step up scientific research and practical activity with regard to a comprehensive solution of ecological problems in cooperation with other union republics and al countries of the Baltic Sea Basin.

We need to upgrade the over-all ecological standards of officials and other citizens. An ecological expert appraisal should be carried out at the pre-draft or draft stage of developing any project, along with public discussion of the results of these expert appraisals. The requirements with regard to environmental protection ought to measure up to international norms.

2. Taking into account the critical status of Latvia's nature, the NFL demands that long-range priorities be set for environmental protection and ecology. The NFL opposes the construction or expansion of any national-economic project and is in favor of curtailing its operation if the activity of such a project could inflict damage on the environment.

The NFL deems it necessary to guarantee full reimbursement for any damage caused and the application of legal penalties to organizations and officials, to provide effective monitoring controls on the storage and drainage of industrial wastes, and not to permit the construction of a new area for burying toxic or radioactive wastes. We must regularly publish data concerning environmental pollution and the assumed consequences of its effect on human health and heredity, as well as information on those persons guilty of pollution. The national economy must key on ecologically clean production and the use of relatively harmless energy resources. We must provide strict monitoring controls on the storage and import into this republic of substances which are dangerous for health and the environment, we must also monitor their transit haulage.

3. The NFL advocates ecologically clean agricultural production, as well as an ecologically justified and optimal utilization of forests. We must create new and revive former natural-preservation zones in Latvia. We must achieve a situation whereby matters of environmental protection and normalization also affect those territories under the administration of the Armed Forces.

4. The NFL advocates the allocation of industrial, residential, and recreational zones in such a way that it corresponds to Latvia's geographical environment. The NFL favors the optimal utilization of lands in agriculture, taking into account regional topography, climatic characteristics, and soil types; it is also for the correspondence of land-improvement measures and utilities to the geographical and cultural-historical type of situation involved. When land is to be used for extracting minerals or for building electric-power engineering projects, the NFL demands that a study be made of the resulting impact on the environment.

5. The NFL supports the initiative of the Latvian Cultural Fund for reviving and improving the cultural-landscape environment which has evolved over the course of centuries; it is in favor of preserving the cultural-historical heritage.

The NFL advocates the reform of the administrative-territorial division of this republic in accordance with the historical, geographical, and ethno-psychological realities.

The NFL considers it necessary to publish a newspaper or a journal which would elucidate the urgent problems of protecting the natural environment.

X. Health Care and Sports

1. The NFL calls for major improvement in health care, for its materual base to be strengthened, and for the material security of pensioners and invalids to be increased. We must achieve a situation whereby this republic's leaders increase the monetary allocations for purchasing imported medical equipment and medications; we must also resume publishing the journal of the Society of Latvian Physicians.

2. The NFL asserts that health care in the Latvian SSR must be decentralized; we have to create a model of health care which has been historically tested and found suitable for this republic's needs—a system of hospital-type offices that allow free medical aid to be successfully combined with paid service corresponding to the importance of the medical specialist involved.

3. The NFL considers that the measures which are now being undertaken to combat alcoholism are ineffective, superficial, and demeaning to human dignity. The fight against alcoholism, drug adiction, and toxicomania is organically linked with the solution to all social and economic problems. For this reason we need to work out and implement a long-range, scientifically justified program.

4. The NFL advocates that the most important decrees regarding health care be discussed ahead of time in the Society of Latvian Physicians, as well as in the collectives of medical staff members.

5. The NFL advocates the establishment of direct and firm professional ties between Latvia's medical staff members and those of other countries, particularly with regard to exchanging students and practicing physicians.

6. The NFL demands that all inhabitants of this republic have access to sports centers in order to strengthen their health; it advocates an equal balance in developing physical education and sports.

We must achieve a situation whereby the republic-level sports federations can independently direct the development and financing of the various sports and join international sports federations. The NFL supports the call to revive the Latvian National Olympic Committee.

Separate Latvian Olympic Committee Rejected

LD0312220488 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet National Olympic Committee has rejected the idea of setting up an Olympic committee in Latvia. The full-scale meeting of the national committee in Moscow has said that the emergence of such a committee in a Soviet republic would run counter to the Olympic Charter and the practice of the Olympic movement. The session criticized the campaign for setting up Latvia's own Olympic committee. It said that such efforts in no way promoted the unity of sports organizations of Soviet republics. At the same time, the National Olympic Committee has decided to draw up additional measures to expand the rights and duties of sports agencies in individual republics.

Lithuanian Republic Situation Further Reported

Sajudis Said To Draft Protest

LD0512121288 Hamburg DPA in German 1113 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring (Sajudis) has accused the Soviet leadership in Moscow of disregarding the needs of the republics and of suppressing the democratization of Soviet society. Arvydas Jouzatis [spelling as received], a spokesman for the Sajudis leadership, told DPA on Monday by telephone in Moscow that the movement's Sejm (council) had drafted a protest document the previous evening, by means of which Sajudis intended to appeal to world public opinion.

In his document, criticism was made chiefly of the constitutional changes of recent weeks. Reference was also made to the fact that "restructuring in the Soviet Union had met with severe resistance", the spokesman said. Furthermore, economic reform was blocked, and the autonomy of the republics had been discarded. The mere fact that Moscow had not acknowledged a total of four million signatures from the Baltic region against the Constitution plans shows that democratization in the USSR continues to be suppressed. [passage omitted]

New Unity Group's Declaration

PM2811113188 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 3

["Declaration of the 'Vienybe,' 'Yedinstvo,' or 'Jednosc' Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania" adopted at a constituent meeting of the movement in Vilnius 4 November]

[Text] In establishing the "Yedinstvo" ["Unity"] socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania, we stress that we firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist positions and are convinced that despite the crude and criminal distortions of the principles of socialist building in the past, only communist ideology reflects the fundamental interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, young people, people of different nationalities and religions, and society as a whole.

We recognize the Communist Party's leading and directing role, and support its line of restructuring in the country. At the same time we believe that the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the majority of party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations have been irresolute in their conduct of restructuring, having at present no specific program of action, and have not clearly expressed their position on the complex and contradictory processes of social life.

The "Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania proclaims as its main aim the attainment, development, and improvement of a humane and democratic socialist society on the basis of the full realization of Lenin's ideas on the building of society for the sake of man's happiness, prosperity, and all-around spiritual development, and for eliminating the working people's alienation from:

—various forms of socialized ownership of the means of production;

—the results of their labor;

—political power;

—cultural, scientific, and sociopolitical life.

The "Yedinstvo" movement advocates the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state.

The movement advocates the all-around strengthening of the union of sovereign republics of the USSR.

"Yedinstvo" recognizes and supports the kind of restructuring of the political system of society which completely precludes the possibility of a return to the administrative-edict method of leadership of social and economic development, the personality cult, and the fusion of the party and administrative apparatus.

The movement advocates the granting of economic independence [samostoyatelnost] to the republic and the introduction of regional economic accountability and workers' self-management at enterprises.

The "Yedinstvo" movement will persistently struggle for a clean environment and social-ecological principles of economic management, and considers unacceptable any economic activity which worsens the the state of the environment in the republic. The movement considers it its duty to expose individuals whose actions harm the environment and to insist that they be made accountable.

We support the strengthening and development of real social guarantees which restore socialism's true content.

The "Yedinstvo" movement supports the consistent, democratic solution of the questions of interethnic relations in Lithuania. It will support and defend the interests and political rights of all citizens regardless of their nationality and religious faith, and struggle against discrimination on the grounds of nationality.

The movement notes the fact that at present the country does not have sufficient experience in resolving the interethnic problems which have accumulated. It believes that all nationalities problems require a balanced and comprehensive approach based on a thorough and scientific analysis and objective assessments.

While recognizing the priority of the language of indigenous citizens, "Yedinstvo" considers that the question of the official status of languages and of citizenship in the republic can only be resolved by the democratically elected Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, formed with a two-chamber structure and including a Soviet of Nationalities, with equal representation given to deputies of Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Belorussian, Jewish, and other nationalities, and endowed with the functions of the supreme organ of power in the sphere of national processes and interethnic relations. Therefore the solution of the question of the status of the state language and citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet should now be suspended.

The "Yedinstvo" movement wages an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, consistently defends Leninist principles of internationalism, and seeks to rally all nations and ethnic groups for the solution of common tasks.

The "Yedinstvo" movement supports the all-around development and mutual enrichment of all national cultures. It is concerned for their purity and for a solicitous attitude to the historical memory of the nations and all the people. The ecology of national cultures is guaranteed first and foremost by the talent and humanist values of scientific discoveries, works of literature and art, and painstaking educational work.

The "Yedinstvo" movement declares war on bureaucracy in all its forms. It supports and works for the broadest glasnost in the discussion of economic, political, and all socially important projects and problems. "Yedinstvo" defends and deepens the principles of social justice and mercy. It advocates the abolition of all undeserved privileges.

The "Yedinstvo" movement considers it its duty to wage a comprehensive struggle to increase the well being of underprivileged families and to support young families, the families of internationalist servicemen, single people, and the aged. The movement is concerned with the moral and patriotic education of young people. We will struggle persistently to perpetuate the memory of all the victims of fascism as well as of Stalinism, and those Soviet activists who died during the years of the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania.

The movement supports Lenin's thesis on the need to defend the socialist fatherland, and considers service in the USSR Armed Forces to be the honorable duty of every citizen of the USSR. "Yedinstvo" appeals to the honor of officers and all military servicemen to use every means to eradicate the disgraceful practice of bullying and nonregulation relations in the USSR Armed Forces.

The "Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania is committed solely to political and organizational methods of work in its practical activity. It explains its aims and tasks, enters into open and honest discussions, and eschews the labeling of people who have their own viewpoint, or opinions which differ from the convictions of the "Yedinstvo" movement. In our concrete actions we adhere to the principle expressed in the official documents: Everything which is not prohibited is lawful.

"Yedinstvo" shares the noble and humane goals proclaimed by the social associations which have appeared in the republic recently, and expresses a readiness for cooperation and constructive dialogue with them. As positions are clarified and the existing differences of opinion are removed, "Yedinstvo" considers it sensible to pool efforts in the struggle to deepen and develop restructuring, democracy, and glasnost.

The "Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania brings together and admits to its ranks all citizens or groups of people, party members and nonparty people, and people of any age, nationality, or religious faith who express agreement with and support for its aims and methods of work.

The declaration was adopted at the constituent meeting of the "Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania.

Vilnius, 4 November 1988.

On the instructions of the constituent meeting the "Yedinstvo" working group appeals to all workers, peasants, intelligentsia, young people, and labor and war veterans in Lithuania, regardless of nationality, social status, or religion, to support the movement in the implementation of its proclaimed goals. We request that you telephone 62-84-91 to report the creation of primary support groups.

Working group: V. Antonov, A. Gelbakh, A. Daukshevich, V. Zhukovskiy, V. Ivanov, A. Kaminskas, I. Kuts, R. Malinauskas, V. Melnikov, A. Merkel, S. Peshko, S. Reznik, A. Saurusyavichyus, and V. Sinitsyn.

Secretary Gedraytis on Situation

LD0112054488 Moscow TASS in English 0525 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the "Soviet Baltic Panorama"]

[Text] Vilnius December 1—By EL'TA [Litovskoye Telegrafnoye Agentstvo] correspondent Salamonas Vaintraubas

The current process of the renewal of Soviet society, the process which found reflection in the discussion of the laws on proposed changes in the Constitution of the USSR and on the election of people's deputies, has stirred up the social thought all over the Soviet Union. This is vividly seen from the example of Soviet Lithuania.

The intensity of social life has markedly increased in the republic. There have emerged non-formal movements some actions of which at times lead to complex situation. An evaluation of these is given in the resolution of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania "On the Present-Day Political Situation in the Republic."

Commenting on the document, Stanislovas Gedraytis, 41, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, who has been occupying this post since January this year, has emphasized that the party's policy of revitalising and reorganising social life, of giving greater scope to openness, and of raising the efficiency of the national economy is being supported by an overwhelming majority of the republic's population.

Gedraytis recalled that the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Lithuania at its November session had proclaimed Lithuanian to be the state language of the republic. The historical symbols had also been granted national status. The national tri-colour yellow-green-red flag had been recognized as the state one, and "the national song" by Vincas Kudirka, a progressive writer and public figure of last century, had been recognized as the national anthem.

"The session is an important step along the road of restructuring," Gedraytis went on to say. "We have already completed work on a draft new constitution of the republic. The constitutional commission which was set up at the session will bring the draft constitution up for nationwide discussion soon."

The secretary of the party's Central Committee referred to the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, Sajudis, as a tangible factor in the republic's political life. Cooperating with party and state bodies, the Sajudis did a lot to revitalise society.

"However," Gedraytis pointed out, "unrealistic political demands and vociferous anti-state actions are prevailing in the activities of some of Sajudis leaders in recent days. Personal ambitions and not always honestly conducted signature-collecting campaigns manifest themselves. As a result, the public, particularly young people, are being misled."

"One has to state," the secretary of the party's Central Committee went on to say, "that some Sajudis leaders do not dissociate themselves from alien persons who become associated with the movement and who do not conceal their claims for Lithuania's secession from the USSR. Those persons deny and denigrate everything that has been created over the decades of Soviet power by the talented and industrious Lithuanian people. Such figures exert a harmful influence on a proportion of young people who did not experience the complex pre-war, war-time and post-war situations."

But those are only individual persons and they do not make big politics. The working class does not support such opinions.

The true supporters of perestroyka are rightfully indignant at the nature of the Sajudis publications which reflect at times extreme views, do not disdain insults against this or that person holding a responsible position in the republic.

Such attitude is incompatible with the Sajudis-declared concern over the future of Lithuania, the establishment of a law-governed state, and consolidation of the people in the name of the future.

"Numerous letters and statements which come in to the government and party organisations and mass media indicate," Gedraytis said, "that a considerable proportion of the Lithuanian public do not share such kind of activity and come out in favour of close cooperation of all forces of society with the party and the state in the fraternal alliance of the Soviet republics. This opinion of the republic's population is being supported by the Communist Party of Lithuania and by its Central Committee."

Sajudis Nationalities Draft Program

WA1800019188 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 3

[Draft Program of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring on the Nationality Question]

[Text] **With a view to the forthcoming congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring ("Sajudis"), which will take place in Vilnius on 22-23 October, the initiative group drafted a program on the nationalities problem and submitted it for publication in SOVETSKAYA LITVA.**

The initiative group of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring invites readers to participate in the discussion of the draft.

1. The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring deems it illegal and rejects the Stalinist practice of mechanically mixing ethnic groups, deportations, and national nihilism and the idea of the merging of nations, as conflicting with friendship among the peoples, democracy, and social justice. It condemns the crimes and the harm caused to the peoples by the Stalinist nationalies policy which brought more than one nation to the brink of ethnic disappearance, and demands moral and social compensation for such nations.

2. The movement calls for specific and firm constitutional and legal guarantees of equality among ethnic groups, ensuring the state sovereignty of individual republics, the status of republic citizenship, and the recognition of the language of the native nationality as the state language of the republic. On the basis of such guarantees, equal political, social, and economic cultural rights and freedoms must be recognized for all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR regardless of their ethnic origin, language, or religion.

3. In assisting the restoration of a democratic society in Lithuania, the movement strives to ensure for all ethnic groups living in Lithuania—Letts, Russians, Poles, Jews, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Karaim, Tatars, and others—the right to publicly express their national self-awareness, and it encourages and aids the development of their culture and literacy in their native language.

All ethnic groups living in the Lithuanian SSR should be granted, with the help of state establishments or on a voluntary basis, the opportunity to open schools and teach classes in their native language, to organize autonomous societies, and to disseminate the values of national culture and, on this basis, to raise the young generation.

4. By this token the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring believes that national equality can be achieved only if the members of other ethnic groups grant the right to self-determination to the Lithuanian nation, the state sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR and the territorial integrity of the republic, and respect for the Lithuanian culture and language. In order to ensure national equality it is also necessary to acknowledge the right of the Lithuanians, like that of any other nation, to be concerned with their historical preservation and the protection and development of their language and culture and the territory inherited from their ancestors, as well as the right to independently manage the economy of their republic and make suitable use of its natural resources.

5. Inasmuch as the Lithuanians who live abroad and in the other republics of the USSR are an intrinsic part of the Lithuanian nation, the movement tries to ensure for them, and for people from Lithuania who belong to other ethnic groups, the necessary conditions for maintaining normal contacts with their native area, and free reentry and participation in the republic's cultural and economic life.

The movement acknowledges the right of all people to freely choose their place of residence. At the same time, the movement believes that uncontrolled migration, triggered by inefficient development of the national economy and related to the separation of many people from their native land and culture, harms the national interests of all ethnic groups. Migration processes must be controlled in accordance with the Law on Lithuanian SSR Citizenship (which is being drafted).

6. The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring condemns any injustice committed on a nationaly basis, and the denigration of the national dignity, culture, and language or any manifestation of great-power chauvinism and nationalism. Should internationality tensions break out, the historical and social origins of such phenomena must be identified and publicly condemned, and legal methods for their elimination must be sought. It is also necessary to promote reciprocal respect and rapprochement and cooperation among nations.

Resolution on Deputies' Electoral Commission

PM0612110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On Formation of Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Having examined the proposals of the union republics' supreme soviet presidiums and the all-union organs of public organizations, on the basis of Article 22 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," the USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

That a Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies be formed consisting of the following:

Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission

Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, member of the CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chairmen of the Central Electoral Commission

Dmitriy Bogdanovich Golovko, rector of the Kiev Light Industry Technological Institute, Ukrainian SSR

Alevtina Vasilyevna Fedulova, first deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women

Secretary of the Central Electoral Commission

Yuriy Ivanovich Ryzhov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department

Members of the Central Electoral Commission

Mikhail Nikolayevich Avvakumov, artist, and secretary of the board of the USSR Artists Union

Pyusta Aziz Aga Kyzy Azizbekova, director of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Museum of the History of Azerbaijan

Vladimir Viktorovich Aksenov, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR, director of the State Scientific Research Center for the Study of Natural Resources, and deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Foundation

Zinaida Simbaeyvna Aliyeva, operator at the Pavlodar aluminum plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Kazakh SSR

Georgiy Vasilyevich Barabashev, department chief of the legal faculty of the Moscow M.V. Lomonosov State University

Galina Sergeyevna Bereza, link leader at the Dzershinskiy Kolkhoz, Lutskiy Rayon, Volyn Oblast, Ukrainian SSR

Valentina Nikolayevna Golubeva, general director of the Ivanovo cotton production association, Ivanovo

Sofya Vasilyevna Guminskaya, stockraising team leader at the K.S. Zaslonov Kolkhoz, Orshanskiy Rayon, Vitebsk Oblast, Belorussian SSR

Valentin Petrovich Denisov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kashtanov, vice president of the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and deputy chairman of the board of the All-Union "Znaniye" Society

Boris Vasilyevich Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice

Dmitriy Nikolayevich Kuznetsov, major general and deputy chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee

Amangozel Kurbanova, carpet maker at the head enterprise of the "Turkmenkover" production associaton, Ashkhabad, Turkmen SSR

Vizma Petrovna Maurere-Maurate, knitter of knitted articles at the "Avrora" hosiery factory, Riga, Latvian SSR

Saodat Abdurakhimovna Makhmudova, teacher at the No 5 Secondary School, Isfara, Leninabad Oblast, Tajik SSR

Irina Petrovna Miroshnichenko, artiste at the M. Gorkiy USSR Moscow Arts Academy Theater

Aleksandr Alekseyevich Mikhaylov, writer and secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union

Vladas Pyatrovich Mishkinis, chairman of the board of the "Zapishkis" Kolkhoz, Kaunasskiy Rayon, Lithuanian SSR

Inna Alekseyevna Naumenko, chairman of the Cultural Workers Trade Union Central Committee

Viktor Stepanovich Nechayev, colonel general and deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate

Mariya Stepanovna Palariye, chief of the children's department of the Suvorovskiy central rayon hospital, Moldavian SSR

Andrus Albertovich Pork, member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium

Vitaliy Petrovich Provotorov, secretary of the AUCCTU

Yuriy Anatolyevich Prokofyev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom

Rakhim Radzhabov, director of the Tashkent "Algoritm" computer plant, Uzbek SSR

Viktor Markianovich Sabodan, member of the Presidium of the board of the Soviet Health and Chairty Foundation, member of the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, metropolitan of Rostov and Novocherkassk, and administrator of affairs of the Moscow Patriarchate

Valentina Vasilyevna Smirnova, first secretary of the Pushkinskiy CPSU Raykom, Leningrad

Dzhanysh Usupzhanov, senior herdsman at the "Pobeda" Skolkhoz, Tyupskiy Rayon, Issyk-Kul Oblast, Kirghiz SSR

Viktor Varfolomeyevich Fanardzhyan, vice president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences

Nodari Amrosiyevich Chitanava, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee

Nina Nikolayevna Shcherbakova, weaver at the Moscow "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" cotton combine named for F.E. Dzershinkiy

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, the Kremlin, 1 December 1988

Results of USSR Supreme Soviet Session Assessed

'Radical Transformations' Noted

PM0612141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Toward the People's Sovereignty. On the Results of the USSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] This past week will go down as a special contribution to the political biography of our country. The CPSU Central Committee plenum and then the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet gave the green light to the radical transformations defined in the 19th all-union party conference decisions. The laws adopted at the session mark a major step along the path of democratizing Soviet society, ensuring the soviets' sovereignty, and creating a socialist rule-of-law state.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered the report on measures to implement the political reform in the sphere of state building. The ensuing discussion of the draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of USSR People's Deputies was an impressive conclusion to the debate involving the whole people. Speaking from the session rostrum and voting on items on the agenda, the deputies clearly voiced their approval for the very idea of the political reform and their attitude to the ways to realize it in practice. At the session the conclusion was drawn that our development cannot be accelerated without improving political institutions and reviving the soviets as representative organs of the people's power and self-management.

Looking back over the 3 and ½ years since the party advanced the idea of restructuring, we see how consistently and concretely this task is being realized: from interpreting the problems and deformations which had accumulated by the mid-eighties, through the shaping of an integral concept for improving society and the life of the people, to practical steps in all spheres. Today it is obvious that if the economic, social, and spiritual reorganization is not backed up by political reform, all the restructuring processes will inevitably slip. This is why, starting with the preparations for the 19th party conference, public opinion was strengthened in its understanding of the urgency of changes and the chief aim of transformations—really to assert the working person in the position of the master both in production and in state management.

The publication of the draft laws gave a strong new boost to the resurgent political activeness of the masses. Millions of people participated in their discussion, and more than 300,000 comments and suggestions were made in the course of that "nationwide scrutiny." Expressing their electors' will, the deputies adopted amendments to more than half the articles in the laws discussed. Thus the outlined program of political reform and the whole volume and character of the upcoming exceptionally complex work received full public support.

The main content of the first stage of the reform is the renewal of the soviets' structure, of the procedure for the formation and activity of the highest organs of power, and of the electoral system. The next stage will be connected with the harmonization of relations between the USSR and its constituent republics, and then there will be a reorganization of power at local level. At the same time there will be a profound restructuring of the judicial and legal system. All these tasks are so interconnected that lingering at the start would mean postponing all subsequent stages and, consequently, slowing down restructuring as a whole.

What is the main thrust of the present, initial stage of the now legislatively approved political reform? It is a question of not only restoring but also deepening the principal foundations of Soviet socialist statehood and democracy. This means, above all, the unity of the system of the soviets as the people's representative organs, when each soviet acts as a small part of supreme power on its own territory. At the all-union and republic levels the congresses of people's deputies are becoming the highest component of management and are to revive another very important feature of the soviets—the simultaneous combination in them of state organs and mass organizations of the population. And again: The status of deputy will henceforth mean constant legislative, administrative, and monitoring work, thanks to which our elected representatives will regain real influence over both the substance of decisions adopted and their implementation. Collegiality in resolving key state problems, subordination of power from top to bottom, the idea actively supported by deputies of creating the Constitutional Oversight Committee—all this must create reliable guarantees against distorting the principles of people's power, and this in turn will make it possible to ensure the irreversibility and ongoing development of restructuring.

The deputies took an attentive and responsible attitude to examining questions connected with interethnic relations and the delimitation of the powers of the center and the republics. Although the specific structure of republic organs of power is to be determined at the next stage, it was emphasized at the session that a person of any nationality and an inhabitant of any republic must be confident that all problems—whether economic or legal, whether created by today's cultural aspirations or stemming from the past—can and must find a just solution precisely within the framework of restructuring, using methods of democratic discussion and the elaboration of concerted positions.

We have a unified system of soviets, which is capable of ensuring the harmonious working of the federative state mechanism. We have a unified national economic complex, which ensures the closest interdependence of all the republics' economies and social spheres. The success of the transformations is contraindicated equally by overcentralism, which has fettered local initiative, by attempts at regional isolation, and by suspicion and artificial barriers in relationships. As always, extremes come together and are destructive. The only fruitful efforts are those aimed at improving interethnic relations on Leninist internationalist positions. "A sound union means a strong center and strong republics"—this is the motto which accords with the interests of all the country's peoples. This is why the resolution unanimously adopted at the session on further steps to implement the political reform provides for the formation of a working group of deputies with the participation of scientists and specialists, which will prepare proposals on delimiting the competence of the USSR and the union republics. This will make it possible to ensure more fully their political and socioeconomic interests and will serve to harmonize interethnic relations.

The most important tasks of the political reform, the deputies who addressed the session pointed out, include the resolute renewal of local organs of power too and the strengthening of their independence. This will be based on the creation of a strong material and financial base for them, the switch to the self-financing of territories, and the vigorous assertion of self-management as the sum total of all forms of democracy under the auspices of local soviets.

The radical renewal of our electoral system is called upon to promote the success of all the planned transformations. The laws adopted at the session open up the possibility of a real choice—which will make it possible to involve millions of people in actively expressing their will and to form a deputy corps which will worthily and actively champion the people's interests under conditions of restructuring. The election of one-third of the USSR people's deputies from public organizations will be a fundamental innovation. This question gave rise to particularly heated and, it has to be said, contradictory debates both prior to the session and on its rostrum. But in the end the opinion that such representation will be an additional democratic institution triumphed. For public organizations embrace practically the entire population of the country. Thus all Soviet citizens will be represented on the organs of power through them, as well as through territorial and national- territorial formations.

What will our elected representatives be like tomorrow—this is the chief question which the upcoming election campaign will answer. Whomever the future people's deputy represents, he acts on the soviet as a political figure whose primary purpose is skillfully and organically to link the interests of his electors with the needs of the entire people and with the tasks of the development of all of society. The country's future depends to a decisive degree on which people receive the mandate of popular trust.

The judicial and legal reform initiated by this Supreme Soviet session must also serve in full the aims of deepening the people's self-management. The chief instrument in the observance of law and order is the court, and the adopted amendments to the Constitution enshrine guarantees of the independence and inviolability of judges: their election by higher soviets, an increase in the term of their powers, and others. At the same time the accountability of judges to the soviets and of people's assessors to their electors is provided for, because the socialist rule-of-law state toward which we are moving is based not only on the supremacy of law but also on the people's open [glasnyy], democratic control. Hence the need at subsequent stages of the judicial and legal reform to cardinally renew all sectors of our legislation, to improve the training and utilization of juridical cadres, and to enhance the legal and political culture of all of society.

Seeking to reveal the entire potential of our social system on paths of democratization, we must be clearly aware that it has nothing in common with indiscipline, willfulness, or anarchy. At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting held on the eve of the session an appeal was made to all the country's working people—to Communists and nonparty people, veterans and young people, women and the intelligentsia—to display the greatest responsibility and not allow antisocial, antirestructuring elements to develop in profound popular processes, including in interethnic relations.

Democracy and responsibility are indivisible. The discussion of the draft laws and the very course of this session of the country's Supreme Soviet were a school of democracy for everyone—both for central and local organs of power and for the broad public, for all citizens. The deputies unambiguously declared: The tasks of renewal cannot be resolved in the language of utlimatums, in whatever form they are issued—as unconstitutional political decisions, the disruption of the work rhythm in production, or categorical demands during street rallies. Action and the practical organization of life in the new way are coming to the forefront today. Our restructuring must be protected from everything superficial, from attempts to divert society's attention to secondary issues, and from direct attacks—from both the right and the left.

It is the task of party organizations persistently to channel the population's growing political activeness in the direction of practical deeds. It is necessary to speak and champion the truth, learn to convince people, and assert in society clear understanding of the fact that only through common efforts, through a high return at every work place, and through an innovative and responsible approach in all sectors is it possible to resolve the urgent problems of the development of our motherland—the USSR.

IZVESTIYA Hails New Laws

PM0612111188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Real People's Laws"]

[Text] It is not long since the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet completed its work. The session's documents have been published and the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and Law on Elections of People's Deputies, which were so heatedly discussed, have been adopted and have become laws of our state. Today all Soviet people are studying these documents over and over again with tremendous attention and interest and are again considering and assessing their role in transforming our society and in putting into practice the reform of the political system whose main ideas were outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference.

The sources of the nationwide interest in the work and decisions of the latest USSR Supreme Soviet session are clear. The restructuring of the economy and the social sphere and the assertion of the principles of economic accountability and cost recovery have highlighted the interdependence between the rates of economic and social development and have raised most pointedly the question of the need to expand glasnost, democratize management, and carry out an integral reform of the political system. The renewal of the structure of the soviets, of the procedure for the formation and activity of the supreme organs of power, and of the electoral system constitutes the first stage of the reform and the line marking the transition to practical implementation of its ideas in political guidelines and legal statutes.

Today it is still by no means easy to comprehend and grasp the lessons that the latest unusual session has offered for our society and each of us Soviet people. We have not experienced and cannot recall any similar sessions. There have not been any for the last 50 years. Indeed, there could not have been any—the soviets had long been assigned the traditional role of organs which merely formally approve and ratify and change nothing in decisions that are actually made in advance. One of the 19th party conference's most important ideas, that of reviving the soviets' sovereignty and of the people's self-management, has radically changed our attitude toward their activity. Both the latest session and the discussion of the draft laws which preceded it cogently showed that the idea of the reform of the political system has been accepted by society and has become an integral part of its awareness. Only faith in the reality of changes and in the very ability of each Soviet person to effectively influence the process of creating a socialist rule-of-law state could have triggered such a powerful, unprecedentedly large-scale upsurge of the people's political activeness.

The turbulent and eventful period of free exchange of opinions and heated debates which immediately and abruptly overflowed the proposed bounds of the discussion revealed the complexity and ambiguity of the processes of the democratization of social life and at the same time the objective need for them. Maybe sober reason did not always prevail everywhere over emotions, but ultimately it was the discussion that made the laws that have now been adopted real people's laws.

Let us recall that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium alone received over 300,000 remarks and amendments regarding the draft laws. But at the session deputies gave their own figures for the remarks received like mandates from their voters. Some 120,000 in the Ukraine, 68,000 in Leningrad... The opinion of large enterprise and organization collectives was solidly in favor of a few amendments. Thus the 35,000-strong collective of the "Gomselmash," where one worker in three took part in the discussion, put forward 250 remarks. In other words, many millions of people took part in creating the new laws. Even on the final day of the USSR Supreme Soviet session's work letters and telegrams asking, demanding, that the authors' opinion be published without fail or brought to the deputies' attention poured in to the editorial office.

The critical, constructive nature of the overwhelming majority of letters vividly reflected the changes in people's mentality born of society's struggle for glasnost and democracy and their desire to take a personal part in the making of the new political system and in the formulation of the laws by which our state will live and work.

We know today that the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and Law on Elections of People's Deputies, after nationwide revision, underwent appreciable changes—the laws adopted by the session clarify or expand practically half the articles. This fact in itself, without even very recent precedent, shows the increased level of social awareness, the release of society's initiative and energy, and its readiness to smash yesterday's dogmas.

During the discussion at the session also many of the questions that were raised went beyond the bounds of the debate on the procedure for elections, the structure of the supreme organs of power, and the relevant changes to the constitution. The most controversial issues and those which aroused a sharp clash of opinions were the "painful problems" of the economic development of the country as a whole and its individual regions, the priorities in restructuring and the need to constantly maintain the process of the renewal of socialism, and, finally, the improvement of interethnic relations and the demarcation between the powers of the union and those of the republics. In their speeches many deputies emphasized the inseparability of democracy and responsibility, the wrongness of political decisions smacking of ultimatums and violating the constitution, and the impermissibility of expanding your own, local democracy at the expense of a limitation of the rights of the federation and socialist society as a whole.

It is impossible not to see in the very raising of these problems today's profound changes in society and in people's civic consciousness. Of course, these questions could not be resolved at the session itself—but the discussion of them clearly outlined the real possibility of overcoming difficulties on the basis of respectfulness and mutual understanding, in the common interests of the union and of the republics, and helped in more precisely defining a rational sequence for the next stages of the political reform.

All the future work to implement it has been given a powerful initial fillip by the decisions of the 12th session and the new Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and Law on Elections of People's Deputies. The introduction of new principles in organizing the activity and structure of supreme power—the Congress of People's Deputies, the permanent Supreme Soviet, the representation of social organizations, the Constitutional Oversight Committee, and many other changes—is essentially not just a new stage but a breakthrough in developing Soviet statehood on the basis of democratization and the people's self-management.

The authoritarian methods of power that took shape during the periods of Stalinism and stagnation, the bureaucratic edict system of management, and the prevailing practice whereby the apparatus elbows aside elected organs are essentially being smashed before our very eyes. And this reflects the tremendous historic role of the 19th party conference and the main thrust of the decisions of the latest extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The report at the Supreme Soviet session stressed that the new laws have created real conditions for overcoming these negative phenomena which have for many years retarded our society's development. The Congress of People's Deputies has the supreme right in resolving the most important constitutional questions and the right to examine any question of the country's state life. At the same time the permanent operation of the Supreme Soviet makes it possible to exercise these rights in practice, to take over the complex processes of preparing laws and budgetary control, and to ensure skillful and profound checking of the work of ministries and departments. Henceforth the government will report to the Supreme Soviet at least once per year. The strengthening of the soviets' control functions and the creation of the Constitutional Oversight Committee will serve as a reliable guarantee against throwbacks to the past and will enable the supreme organs of power to restore justice swiftly and resolutely if it is violated.

An integrated system of soviets operates in our country. The changes that the new laws make to the structure and activity of the supreme organs of power predetermine the need for relevant changes and the strengthening of people's power in republic and local soviets. Restructuring is aimed at activating all elements of the socialist society for vigorous creative work and at ensuring the most favorable conditions for each of those elements. Labor collectives' self-management on the basis of economically accountable principles will have a real foundation only when it is combined with territorial economic accountability and the independence of local soviets. It is on them that the satisfaction of the social needs of working people and the entire population will primarily depend.

This determines the tremendous responsibility that the times place upon deputies and voters with regard to the practical realization of the opportunities and advantages that society is given by the new laws, which lay the foundation for the soviets' sovereignty and the people's self-management. The USSR Supreme Soviet has formed a Central Electoral Commission and has scheduled the elections of USSR people's deputies for 26 March 1989. We must hold them in accordance with the new law, which opens up broad opportunities for putting forward alternative candidates and for the democratic election of deputies capable of assuming the difficult new duties in sovereign soviets. It is on them that all the future political and economic transformations and society's social well-being will primarily depend. And this fully determines our civic duty and tremendous responsibility for nominating and electing people's deputies and our new attitude toward elections.

State Centralization Questioned

AU0512160288 Vienna PROFIL in German
5 Dec 88 p 45

["Passages From an Article, Which the Government Newspaper IZVESTIYA Refused To Publish, by Leonid Batkin, Member of the MOSCOW TRIBUNE Informal Group: Diversion to Democracy?"—PROFIL headline]

[Text] The draft Constitution takes one step forward and several steps backward. The step forward is the fact that there will be competition between several candidates in the elections. However, the rules for choosing them are unclear: Who will determine and at what point whether exactly 500 inhabitants of the district in question have gathered, whether there will be a sufficiently large hall, and whether the next level, the kreis, will not use a "filter" for candidates that have already been regularly nominated?

It is very good that the Supreme Soviet becomes a permanent law-making organ, and that high officials will no longer have a right to vote in that body to which they are accountable.

It is also important that the Council of Ministers reports to the Supreme Soviet. Unfortunately, no provisions were made for a vote of confidence.

However, one wonders why the state is becoming even more centralized than it has been up to now. Like everywhere else in the world, two houses should be established that do not have equal rights, but that are different from one another with regard to elections and rights.

It is above all the two-stage election system that constitutes a step backward and excludes the voter from having any influence on the make-up of the parliament and on the election of the president. Direct elections will only take place for the 2,250 delegates of the People's Congress, which is the body that convenes once a year in order to formally approve everything that is submitted to it.

The members of the People's Congress will know one another less than the residents of a multistory apartment house. How are they to elect the members of the Supreme Soviet from their ranks? In this context, it is still not yet clear whether the number of candidates will also be greater than the number of available seats. The vote on a presented list takes place mechanically, by a show of hands.

In short, the People's Congress is to assume the decorative function of the present Supreme Soviet. As a voter, I do not have the slightest opportunity to influence the make-up of the body that really makes the laws (the Supreme Soviet).

Secret ballots are planned to be held only once every 5 years—when the People's Congress elects its chairman. Even in the Supreme Soviet there are no buttons for voting or computers. Many decisions are bound to be made by the Soviet which will subsequently only be "confirmed" by the People's Congress.

We will be allowed to directly elect no more than two-thirds of this helpless collegium of electors (the People's Congress). The remaining third will be determined in a very peculiar way. The "organizations of our society" (the Communist Party, trade unions, the Komsomol, and others) "elect" the delegates. This method is reactionary because it introduces the existing organizations into the Constitution and thus firmly establishes them for all time.

There are still no trade unions that exclusively represent the interests of their members. Among the young people the Komsomol has lost all its attraction. Put frankly, the trade unions and the Komsomol do not represent anybody at all. However, they can be sure of their seats.

No provision whatsoever has been made for political youth clubs, the environmental protection movement, and the people's fronts. However, there is room for the monopolistic representations of the "creative" professions (writers, musicians, ...) which were founded in the Stalin era.

The president is elected nominally, that is to say by the Politburo. Even the U.S. President can only dream of having so much power—the new state president will also be general secretary of the party. Many of us want Gorbachev to have all this power—but nobody other than him. What happens if somebody else gets it, for example another Chernenko?

The people need to have control. We all, the entire people, should elect the president—out of two or three candidates. At the moment, Gorbachev would certainly win a majority of votes and thus have a genuine mandate for implementing restructuring. At the same time, the conservatives might retain the majority in the Supreme Soviet. As a result, this would entail a normal political struggle. It is dangerous to introduce only "some" parliamentarism and at the same time retain "elections" in organizations in the style of the corporative representations of the old monarchies—like the general estate in France or the Zemstvo (district) representations in old Russia. As opposed to today, the old estates had social diversity and real influence.

The planned provisional structure will either lead to stagnation or it will be brushed away by a new wave of democratization. I wish we could spare ourselves these kinds of diversions.

More USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies' Speeches

Moscow Obkom's Mesyats

PM0112165588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2-3

[Speech by Deputy V.K. Mesyats of Kokchetavskiy Electoral Okrug, Kazakh SSR, (first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom) delivered at 29 November afternoon joint sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! We have all listened with great attention and interest to the report of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on measures to implement the political reform in the sphere of state building. Yesterday these questions received general approval at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Allow me to tell you, comrade deputies, that in Moscow Oblast, just like in other parts of the country, the draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of USSR People's Deputies have been received with great satisfaction. The atmosphere of glasnost and openness has contributed to various opinions being freely expressed on the provisions for the reform of the political system set forth in the draft laws. More than 1 million people have taken part in the discussion of the draft laws in our oblast.

The thorough and constructive debates have shown that all the Moscow Oblast working people view these documents as an important stage on the road toward the renewal of the entire system of organization of the representative organs of state power, the further democratization of Soviet society, and the firm establishment of the principles of the socialist rule-of-law state.

The absolute majority of those who took part in the discussion believe that the draft laws fully accord with the guidelines of the 19th party conference and will ensure the further development and strengthening of democracy in our country.

I would like to support the comrades who have said here that the draft law articles pertaining to the Congress of People's Deputies, the new functions of the Supreme Soviet as a permanently functioning legislative, administrative, and supervisory organ, the creation of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, and the establishment of legal guarantees ruling out possible abuse of power have met with special approval.

The working people received with satisfaction the provision on the democratization of the electoral system and the inclusion of more candidates on the ballot paper than there are mandates. In this way voters will be given a real opportunity to decide in conditions of a truly secret ballot to whom they want to give their vote. We were able to convince ourselves of the viability of the proposed electoral system in the course of the recent elections in our oblast to elect the RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy from the city of Lyubertsy where three candidates to begin with, and later two candidates, campaigned on equal terms for the right to be elected to the republic's supreme organ of state power. Our first experience has revealed that the election campaign left no one indifferent and the candidates themselves put forward their programs and campaigned actively for the electorate's votes.

It was emphasized during the discussion that the adoption of the laws will guarantee the representation in the supreme organs of power of all the social strata and will considerably enhance the democratic potential of the soviets. Soviet people's nationwide, territorial, class, national, demographic, and other interests will be taken into account more fully in the work of the soviets. The clearly formulated principle of the division of the functions and responsibilities of representatives and executive organs, the subordination of the government and the soviet ispolkoms to the elective organs, and the incompatibility of the status of a deputy with certain official positions will also contribute to the enhancement of democracy and the development of self-management.

At the same time it would not be objective to claim that the discussion of all the articles of the draft laws was completely unequivocal in the oblast, that it passed "without a hitch" as people say. This is completely natural as these articles have a bearing on the foundations of socialist statehood and self-management by the Soviet people. In the course of the discussion more than 2,000 critical suggestions and constructive proposals were submitted whose authors concretized and clarified many propositions and, in a number of cases, expressed well-reasoned disagreement with some of them and at the same time put forward their own suggestions for the solution of specific questions. Most of the suggestions, amendments, and proposals were concerned with a more precise demarcation of the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and with the provisions governing the procedure for holding referendums and elections of people's deputies, especially those representing social organizations.

In this context proposals were put forward advocating not only the holding of nationwide referendums but also granting local soviets of people's deputies the right to hold regional referendums on questions within their sphere of competence.

In our opinion, the proposals contained in the report which state that during elections of deputies from social organizations it is necessary—without—fail, to take account of the opinion of local, oblast, and kray social organizations, deserve support, and this is particularly important in our republic where many central organs are located.

And there is one more very important question: In the event that there are more candidates than mandates on the ballot paper, it is necessary to clarify how many votes a candidate has to win in order to be deemed elected. This is necessary because the first experience of holding elections under the new system in our oblast has shown that if there are more than two candidates a situation may arise where no candidate has more than 50 percent of the votes in the first round. We were obliged to hold a second round. We are convinced that had the third candidate not withdrawn during the second round, we would have had to hold a third round. Therefore we support the proposal of the deputy from the Tatar ASSR that the deputy who wins a relative majority of votes be considered as elected, and we deem it necessary to enshrine this in the draft laws.

On the whole we are completely convinced that the adoption of the draft laws will be a major step forward in the creation of constitutional guarantees for the irreversibility of restructuring and for giving socialism back its true face as a system of people's power and social justice.

At the same time I cannot but express the serious concern felt by all the oblast's working people at the processes which are taking place in the Estonian SSR. The categorical tone of the demands which are presented in the nature of an ultimatum and are essentially aimed at thwarting the reform of the political system which is being implemented on the initiative of the party does not accord with the spirit or the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, is in profound conflict with the interests of the Soviet people, and has therefore been resolutely denounced by the working people of Moscow Oblast.

We also believe that the adoption by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet of amendments to the republican constitution and of some other legislative acts is at variance with the fundamental principles of socialist federalism and is directed against the existing union of republics as enshrined in the USSR Constitution. Such actions are not conducive to the normal development of the democratic process, they create hotbeds of political and social tension, and are damaging to the development of an integrated multinational state.

The introduction of political motives into regional economic problems does not find support either. I believe that I will be expressing a general opinion when I say that we have received with great satisfaction the proposition in M.S. Gorbachev's report which states that in this situation it is necessary to display a maximum of composure in tackling the acute problems which have taken shape in a number of the country's regions and to give them thorough consideration without losing sight of nationwide interests.

Comrade deputies! We do believe, of course, that an acute need has arisen to switch regions to economic accountability and self-financing. However, the division of national assets into individual regional components, the establishment of administrative barriers in the development of commodity-money and market relations, and the introduction of republican citizenship will not contribute to democratization in the economic sphere or the whole spectrum of social relations but will, on the contrary, lead to centralization, the development of administrative-edict methods, and promotion of narrow local interests, only this time at republic level.

At the same time we are convinced that with the deepening of the principles of economic accountability, the development of the lease system, and the expansion of enterprises' independence, the essential conditions are being created for combining nationwide and territorial interests on the basis of the establishment of the mechanism of regional economic accountability relations. In our opinion, these relations must be developed above all at rayon and oblast level where the problems of ensuring enterprises' vital supplies are being resolved, the social policy of the party and the state is being implemented in practice, the population's requirements for medical services, food, housing, goods, and services are being met, and questions of the reproduction of labor resources and protection of the environment are being resolved.

We link the solution of these problems within our oblast with the accelerated positive consideration of proposals to switch a number of rayons to principles of self-financing, proposals which the party obkom and the Moscow oblispolkom have submitted several months ago to union and republic government organs but which have not yet been considered for a number of reasons including difficulties in the elaboration of provisions on regional and republic economic accountability. We believe that it is wrong to link these questions.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that without a reinforcement of the economic basis of local soviets, without their economic independence, there can be no question of transforming them into full-fledged organs of full power, into true masters on the territory under their jurisdiction. Therefore it is necessary to make a maximum effort to complete the elaboration and adoption of laws on local self-management and administration, the lease system, land tenure, and other legally binding documents regulating the mutual relations between central and local organs of people's power and socialist enterprises.

In conclusion I would like to stress once again the importance and timeliness of the proposed steps of constitutional reform which will make it possible to introduce the spirit of restructuring in organs of people's power and to give a qualitatively new content to their work.

I propose that the draft laws submitted to the present session for discussion be adopted. The adoption of these laws provides a good basis for the strengthening of the fraternal alliance of equal republics in our multinational country. (applause).

Ukraine's Zhilovskiy

PM0112185988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by Deputy V.D. Zhilovskiy of Zaporozhskiy Electoral Okrug, Ukrainian SSR, (furnaceman at the Zaporozhye Titanium-Magnesium Combine) delivered at 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies, if a barometer was set up in my electoral okrug I can tell you without exaggeration that it would point to "storm." You would see what passions have raged and continue to rage in labor collectives, neighborhoods, and sometimes even on public transport and in the street over the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. I cannot recall its like in my lifetime. You cannot compare this with the "quiet backwater of general indifference" in which we all floundered in 1977. Of course not.

In our Zaporozhye Oblast alone 165 specific proposals and additions have been submitted. Over 60,000 people in all have taken part in discussion of the draft. What provisions of this most important document have most interested and exercised the inhabitants of Zaporozhye? I will dwell on the most typical—those which, in our view, require the most thorough study.

It is undoubtedly necessary to submit Articles 1 and 2 of the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies to comprehensive, in-depth analysis. Many comrades see a deviation from universal and equal suffrage here and stress that giving the leading organs of social organizations the right to elect people's deputies will seriously undermine this very principle. Perhaps social organizations should only be given the right to nominate their own candidates and the electorate be left to decide for itself whether they become deputies.

Furthermore, the desire to remove the words "as a rule" from Article 9 of the draft was encountered most often of all. But this, fortunately, was already reflected in the documents which we were given to study after we registered here. Zaporozhye inhabitants propose the inclusion of the words "at the electoral okrug's behest."

Or take Article 115 and Chapter 15 of the draft. Many proposals have been made to ensure that the draft laws and the most important questions of state life not "can" but "must" be submitted for nationwide discussion.

There are quite a few people from Zaporozhye who want the period of discussion of the drafts to be extended to ensure fuller expression of the people's will. However, I venture to disagree with them. In the present situation, when restructuring has gotten somewhat bogged down in certain questions, we simply have to restructure the political system as quickly as possible. Delay and endless discussion could now have serious consequences. [passage omitted]

Comrades, as a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities I feel bound to express my attitude to the decisions taken by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet at its extraordinary session on 16 November this year. The session decision disturbs us workers in international collectives as human beings, since the adopted amendment essentially undermines the basic principles that underpin the building and unity of our multinational motherland. When we say that restructuring continues the work of October we have creation, not destruction in mind. Today we need to make the country richer and stronger by concerted efforts rather than splinter, disunite, and thereby drain away its vitality.

On the the eve of the 66th anniversary of the formation of the USSR I address myself to all working people of our motherland: Internationalism is a great gain for mankind and it is our sacred duty to strengthen and develop it!

Leningrad's Popov

PM0212111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by Deputy N.I. Popov of Tikhvinskiy Electoral Okrug, Leningrad Oblast, (chairman of Leningrad Oblispolkom) delivered at 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! All of us are alarmed today at the reports which are coming in from the Baltic republics. The debates which are taking place there would be in the spirit of the times if they did not go beyond discussion, if they did not take on the form of hasty practical actions, such as the adoption, for instance, by the Estonian Supreme Soviet of documents which contravene the provisions of the USSR Constitution which is currently in force. What is surprising is that all this is happening at a time when we are building a rule-of-law state, it does not serve the cause of strengthening interethnic relations and ultimately undermines the ideas of restructuring. We support the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Nonconformity of the Estonian SSR Law 'On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Estonian SSR' and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, Adopted 16 November 1988, With the USSR Constitution and USSR Laws." Legislative acts adopted in violation of USSR laws cannot be considered valid.

The materials of the nationwide discussion, the proposals submitted by deputies at the session, and the conclusion of the Legislative Proposals Commissions substantially enrich the draft new laws and we have every reason to adopt these laws.

Vladimir's Bobovikov

PM0512100088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Speech by Deputy R.S. Bobovikov of Muromskiy Electoral Okrug, Vladimir Oblast (first secretary of Vladimir CPSU Obkom), delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! Unlike in past years, the discussion of the draft laws is on this occasion more committed and in many ways different from what is traditional. At home in Vladimir Oblast too, the discussion was active and more than 20,000 proposals were voiced. Naturally, unanimous opinions were not expressed on all the articles. But the general thrust of the draft laws met with approval at sessions of the oblast, city, rayon, village, and settlement soviets of people's deputies and in labor collectives and social organizations.

The working people noted that the proposed draft laws will make it possible radically to extend the powers and potential of the soviets. Their adoption will be a major step along the path of the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state and the further democratization of society. And there is no sense in postponing their ratification. There was plenty of time for discussion. The main ideas of the political reform were reflected fairly clearly in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, on the eve of the 19th all-union party conference. And all who wished to do so had the opportunity to play the most active part in their discussion.

Today the implementation of the first stage of reform is being examined—the reorganization of the highest state organs of power. It was stressed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session that the resolution of the problems of the Soviet federation and ethnic relations, the restructuring of power and management locally, and other major tasks of state management will be tackled at the next stage. And that is quite right. The gradual resolution of urgent questions is the most sensible way.

M.S. Gorbachev's report showed convincingly that the main idea of the political reform is to strengthen true people's power and socialist self-management. Many deputies, in their speeches, have touched on what is, in my view, one of the key questions, that of the inclusion of representatives directly from social organizations in the highest echelon of state power. As for the crux of this thesis, I am convinced that the representation of the CPSU and social organizations among the people's deputies will make it possible more fully to take into account the interests of different social groups of the population and more dynamically to tackle the vitally important tasks at the new stage of restructuring.

In the light of the accumulated experience of elections for multiseat okrugs (and such experience exists in every oblast) it is possible to develop an entirely democratic election mechanism and create a real system of competition, of the nomination of the most energetic, politically mature, competent, and respected people as candidates, and, of course, not only people from among the leaders of central organs. In this context I support the commissions' amendment to Article 100 of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution on taking into account proposals put forward by local organs, grass-roots collectives, and members of social organizations concerning candidate deputies.

Every one of us and society as a whole, in the course of the discussion of the draft laws, has received a kind of lesson in democracy and glasnost. In a number of regions of the country the debates were, as we know, tense. Not infrequently there was propagandization of undemocratic concepts aimed at weakening our multinational socialist state and undermining the principles of internationalism.

Labor collectives in our oblast received with perplexity and concern the reports about attempts in a number of regions to retard the implementation of the political reform and counterpose unionwide interests to local interests. The people of Vladimir believe the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was right to adopt a decree declaring invalid a number of articles of the law and provisions of the declaration of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, which were adopted under pressure from people who nurture self-seeking goals far removed from the interests of the people, the working class, the peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. It is annoying that the deputies of the republic's supreme soviet failed to see or to realize that the acts they adopted contain fundamental deviations from the provisions of the USSR Constitution.

It seems it is now clear to everyone that the Estonian comrades showed undue haste. It would have been better if they themselves had rectified their error. But that needs a clear-cut stance. And we have not yet heard such a stance from the chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. His speech was absolutely unconvincing. Deputy V.I. Kazakov was right about this. Comrade Ryuytel did not even express his attitude to the aforementioned USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. We are not aware of what practical actions will be taken by the republic supreme soviet.

The country has a single, interconnected national economic complex. All the republics and oblasts collaborate closely, and normal development would otherwise be impossible. Strikes in Azerbaijan and Armenia quickly affect the work of enterprises in our oblast and many others. Therefore justified indignation is aroused among the working people by antisocial actions organized by nationalist extremists. Their efforts are aimed at isolating peoples and destabilizing the situation in the country. In a situation where the foundations of the socialist state are in jeopardy, we must not relax our vigilance or allow ourselves to be guided by emotion and led by those who come out verbally in favor of restructuring, but act against it.

There are problems everywhere. We in the Russian Nonchernozem have our problems too. The neglect of the social structure of the countryside, the dire legacy in municipal services, and the great urgency of the housing problem demand energetic and practical actions. We deputies, especially Communists, must show more responsibility and activeness in this difficult transitional period, stop the shameless political speculations on the processes of democratization and glasnost, and uphold and develop the feelings of comradeship, mutual assistance, and solidarity on the tried and tested basis of internationalism. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held 28 November also orient us toward this. The entire discussion at the plenum was permeated by profound concern for strengthening the peoples' friendship and consolidating social forces on the basis of the ideals of restructuring. Restructuring has won great prestige, not only here in our country, but throughout the world. People pin their hopes for the future on the renewal of society.

On behalf of the deputies and all the voters of Vladimir Oblast, I support the draft laws, taking into account the amendments inserted by the Legislative Proposals Commission, which reflect in one form or another proposals put forward by working people in our oblast too.

The laws we are to adopt will enable us to begin tuning the mechanism of democratic expression, formulation, and identification of the interests of all classes and social groups in the implementation of our state's domestic and foreign policy. They reflect V.I. Lenin's ideas on the soviets as a working corporation combining legislation and management.

Thank you for your attention. (applause.)

Krasnodar Kray's Danilchenko

PM0212114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Speech by Deputy L.M. Danilchenko of Yeyskiy Electoral Okrug, Krasnodar Kray, (secretary of Leningradskiy rural soviet ispolkom) delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The question of the nomination of candidate deputies from social organizations is putting people on their guard.

The nomination is to take place at plenums of these organizations' all-union organs. It is not difficult to guess who will be nominated as candidates. Our opinion is this: The candidate deputies should be nominated, campaigned for, and supported by these organs, but the ballot should take place in the electoral okrug. I am convinced that people will always back our best writers, composers, artists, or scientific workers. Especially because now, in the period of the democratization of our life, it is not just laws that are being changed, people, voters themselves are also changing. [passage omitted] (applause).

Orenburg Ispolkom Chairman

PM0512113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by Deputy A.G. Kostenyuk of Buguruslanskiy Electoral Okrug, Orenburg Oblast, (chairman of Orenburg Oblispolkom) delivered at 1 December afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! Today we are discussing unusual documents of tremendous political significance. The draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies meets the demands which the party has placed before our society. Its implementation will make it possible to elect true representatives of the people to the soviets, exclude bureaucracy and formalism, and, most importantly, ensure that our body of deputies includes those who rightly enjoy people's trust.

But worthy representation in the soviet and its effectiveness are not the same thing. We do not have a complete answer to the question of what must be done to ensure that each soviet formed from worthy representatives is an organ of self-management which really has full rights and sovereignty. But to work in the old way, without creating an efficient mechanism of cooperation between local soviets and departments, will mean that the Law on Elections does not fully serve its purpose. There must be a fundamentally new mechanism which guarantees the soviet's power and the deputy's rights, enables them to show their abilities, and enables the voter to assess the activity of both. In brief, there must be standing orders capable of enhancing the efficiency of the activity of the deputy and the Soviet as a whole. There must be standing orders for the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and each of its chambers and standing orders for the work of soviets at all levels.

I believe that it is necessary to approach this question very attentively and to create a really effective mechanism based on deputy's rights which are truly appropriate to a member of the government. When forming the body of deputies from qualitatively new representatives of the people, it must be borne in mind that the criteria for selecting candidate deputies, the demands on them, and the conditions of their work will be different from before. Previously deputies included personnel of the Council of Ministers apparatus, ministers, and other experienced party and economic functionaries belonging to the Soviet in an official or professional capacity. That category will no longer be represented on such a large scale.

At the same time we need an effective organ, we need capable and comprehensively trained cadres. Their main work, even their profession, if you will, will be that of deputy. And that, you will agree, is not how it used to be. And it is not going to be easy to form a soviet at any level, including the Supreme Soviet, under these conditions. This must be anticipated and an effective system must be found for shaping the body of deputies.

Permit me to express my views on the combination of the powers of first secretary and those of soviet chairman. For some reason this question is not reflected in the draft Fundamental Law. I think that behind the good idea of combining these posts there lie a number of contradictions which are already emerging clearly. What are they?

The current campaign of elections to party and soviet organs gives us grounds for supposing that there may be occasions when a first secretary is not elected to a soviet. Everything would seem to be quite clear: Such secretaries must be replaced. But it is also possible that the Communists who elected the first secretary will not consider it necessary to replace him. Thus two collegial organs may come into conflict, which will scarcely help the cause.

Furthermore, the repeat election process itself is far from simple. You can imagine the problems in the repeat election of a CPSU Obkom first secretary, for example. And if you add to that the possibility of repeat elections at city and rayon levels you get a lengthy process of repeat elections with all the attendant negative consequences.

In making a choice on a competitive basis we will be forced to nominate the first secretary for the post of soviet chairman and thus dictate to the people's deputies. Will that be right? In brief, this question must be carefully studied in the light of these and possibly other consequences.

While fully supporting the policy of enhancing the role of the soviets and transferring full power to them, we are forgetting their executive organ. Even the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution makes virtually no mention of ispolkoms and their place and role. The role of that organ is well known and radical economic reform without its participation is inconceivable. So why have we forgotten it in the Fundamental Law?

The chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums can hardly expect to do productive work in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium if they are simultaneously deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In my view, the union's supreme soviet presidium should be first and foremost a working organ. And nominal, theoretical, and honorary combinations of posts like this are the sort of thing which we are rejecting in restructuring today.

Comrade Deputies! In reforming the political system it would be expedient to have a Soviet of Nationalities, that is, a two-chamber system, in union republics with autonomous formations. When resolving tasks at a republic level this will make it possible to take into account the interests of all nations and ethnic groups related to specific economic, cultural, and everyday features. In that case the procedure for the formation of the Soviet of Nationalities and its size and composition will require further work and clarification. But that must be done.

While I am speaking about the reform of the political system I must mention the need to establish a socialist rule-of-law state as quickly as possible so as to define and regulate the responsibility of citizens and collectives to the state and the responsibility of the state to them as clearly as possible. The broadening of working people's rights, socialist self-management, and the functions of labor collective councils in conditions of democratization and restructuring need a clear legal basis.

Organs of power seem to have been given great rights, but in practice this is not so. Take, for example, the right to coordinate enterprises' economic and social development plans on questions which fall within the soviets' competence. We have rights but departments by no means always take our opinion into account. The ispolkom cannot select and approve leadership cadres for the majority of economic organs but where necessary can determine the extent of their responsibility.

A great many resolutions have already been adopted on intensifying the soviets' role but their effect remains insignificant. Because power without an economic basis is merely symbolic. M.S. Gorbachev said yesterday that a Law on Self-Management, Self-Financing, and Self-Sufficiency is being prepared and that a system of economic relations and a legal mechanism for protecting local soviets will be created. This must be done quickly, because the creation of the rule-of-law state is an integral part of restructuring.

And a few further considerations. No variant readings, omissions, or obscurities must be allowed in the draft laws under discussion, so that no one can manipulate them. It is essential to specify the powers of the meeting of voters living in a given electoral okrug. Their rights must be identical to the rights of labor collectives. It is also necessary to define the form whereby resources are allocated by the state to those who have nominated themselves as candidates in elections and the procedure for nominating and registering such candidates.

Continuing Deputy Lavrov's idea, I would like to say the following: The time has clearly come to bring the procedure for voting at supreme soviet sessions technically up to date. Voting by show of hands in the age of all-pervading electronics is archaic. There is a wish for modern technology to be used. The computerization of this is not difficult and will make voting truly secret, clear, and virtually instantaneous.

Comrade deputies, it is well known that the supreme juridical force of the law lies in its paramountcy, no organ except a legislature can repeal the law. A democratic state presupposes a highly organized society based on law and order and discipline and has nothing in common with anarchy. These are axioms and must be unshakable.

I will be voting in favor of democratization, restructuring, and the might of our homeland. The great friendship and fraternity of the peoples are the basis of all this. I am certain that reason will triumph! (applause).

PRAVDA Describes End of Hijack Incident

PM0612092788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Dec 88 First Edition p 8

[A. Filippov report under the rubric "We Report the Details" and the general heading "Children and Animals": "This Is How It Ended 4 December"]

[Text] Late at night. There are many correspondents at Sheremetyevo Airport. They are awaiting the return of the aircraft from Tel Aviv which are to deliver the bandits.

"All the people involved in the operation saw it as their chief task to rescue the children. Not one hair of their heads must be touched," G. Ageyev, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and one of the leaders of the crisis operational staff, said. "The tension did not abate for 48 hours. The extremists advanced more and more demands. The bandits' demands were met in order to save people. The terrorists did everything to ensure that they could not be separated from the hostages. At their demand they were granted a meeting with an acquaintance of theirs who is under investigation—they tried to persuade him to join the gang, but the person refused.

"We got worried when the bandits began taking drugs—because of this their actions were becoming even more unpredictable. The leader was pacing up and down the aircraft and scrutinizing the crew members. He smirkingly promised to finish off anyone he defined as an employee of the [presumably state security] organs. All eight crew members were in the air for 4 hours at gunpoint."

"The crew of the Il-76T aircraft had been preparing for an ordinary flight to Delhi," G. Prikhodchenko, deputy general director of the Central Administration of International Air Traffic for the organization of flight work, said. "The crew included test pilot V. Balashov, squadron deputy commander; aircraft captain A. Bozhkov, second officer A. Goncharov, navigator S. Gribalev, radio operator A. Gorlov, flight engineer Yu. Yermilov, and flight operators B. Khodusov and V. Alpatov.

"They had already taken off for Delhi, but on the way they received an order to land at Mineralnyye Vody. There, right on the spot, the flyers were set a new task. They are all experienced aviators and have been to all the continents except Antarctica. The bandits did not say at first where they were to fly to."

...Finally, the report came from the Central Civil Aviation Production Control Administration: The Il-76T had taken off from Tel Aviv at 2221, would cross the border at 0002, and would land at Sheremetyevo at 0240. The Tu-154 had flown out of Israel at 2314 with a special group on board. The aircraft landed at Sheremetyevo 20 minutes apart. A minibus was driven up to the aircraft and loaded with several bulletproof vests, and currency was taken away in two ordinary light-gray sacks and weapons in a cardboard box.

The terrorists were conveyed separately—two on each aircraft. They were led out and quickly seated between two state security employees in the back seats of black Volgas which had been driven up to the steps. The cars sped off in a column to Moscow, their blue lights winking. It was 0315.

"Scum!" someone in the crowd muttered. "How can the earth support them?"

Scum, indeed. But a court will decide their fate.

A tear-stained Tamara Fotaki, the leader's wife, who had also been a hostage of the bandits, came out of the Tu-154.

A brief interview with V. Balashov.

"When the last child was released in Mineralnyye Vody, we were relieved," he said. "Now we feared only for ourselves. Not that there was time to be afraid. When we had taken off and we were in the air, the leader said to his men: Look, I've organized 80 percent of everything for you, leaving some 20 percent. The cabin was open during the flight. From time to time they permitted themselves a 'joke' but did not let the 'guns' out of their hands. The leader did not lose control of the situation for a single second. Were they already familiar with the aircraft? Apparently not—the size of the'76' had thrown them into confusion at first.

"While we were flying we were thinking: This is a nightmare, and we could not believe what was happening. How cunningly they had organized everything, the devils. It hurt to be powerless.

"Now we are pleased that it has all ended well. Our diplomats and operational staff did excellent work. The decision was the most correct one in that situation. This incident will be a good lesson for other pirates—they will not escape retribution."

Consular Aide in Israel Cited

PM0512140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[4 December telephone interview with G. Martirosov, leader of Soviet consular group in Tel Aviv, by correspondent V. Snegirev under the general heading: "'Thunder' Did Not Rumble"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] We have already reported how the children seized by bandits in the city of Ordzhonikidze were rescued. How did the operation code-named "Thunder" end? Our correspondents speak about this.

Yesterday PRAVDA correspondent V. Snegirev telephoned Tel Aviv's Ramada Continental Hotel, where staffers of the Soviet consular group in Israel live. Group leader G. Martirosov came to the phone.

"The local press is continuing to comment widely on the bandit-like seizure of the busload of children and the terrorists' brief presence in Tel Aviv," Georgiy Ivanovich said. "The mass media point out that in the situation that developed both sides—both Soviet and Israeli—displayed a constructive approach and demonstrated an example of cooperation in the struggle against criminals. Much is being written about E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting in Moscow with A. Levin, leader of the group of Israeli consular workers, during which our minister expressed gratitude to the government of the state of Israel for the measures to detain and extradite the terrorists.

"It has to be said that several hundred journalists from all over the world were at the airport right until the Soviet aircraft left Tel Aviv. Television companies and radio stations used satellite links to carry live reports. To judge from their reports, with which we have familiarized ourselves, correspondents and officials were literally shocked by the bandits' troglodytic intellectual level, if it is possible to speak of any intellect at all here. Thus, they declared that they had chosen Israel because, the way they understand it, this country readily grants asylum to just such people. The JERUSALEM POST reports that right at the airport the group's leader offered Defense Minister Yitzhaq Shamir half of the currency (essentially stolen) which they had on them in exchange for 'good treatment.'

"The very fact of the seizing of the children elicits universal and unequivocal condemnation from everyone with whom we have spoken."

[Snegirev] Did the Israeli side lay down any conditions at the negotiations on handing over the criminals?

[Martirosov] Right at the start, after the IL-76T landed, an accord was reached on the return of the aircraft and its crew to the Soviet Union. As for the bandits, movement toward reaching agreement on their extradition began right after the Israeli authorities' first talk with them. People here quickly saw for themselves that they are inveterate criminals. After a brief interrogation they were sent to Abu Kabir Jail, where they were held in individual cells right up until their departure.

[Snegirev] Tell us now about your group's actions in this, quite frankly, extreme situation.

[Martirosov] There are six of us Soviet consular workers in Tel Aviv. The group has been operating with this composition since 1 November. On receiving the report of the incident in Mineralnyye Vody, we were all, of course, tremendously anxious about the children's fate. Then came tedious hours waiting for the aircraft. I was one of the first to be able to approach the landed airliner and embrace our pilots. It was noticeable that they had endured a grave trial. The aircraft was placed under guard at the air force base, while we took the crew back to our hotel to rest. When the guys came to and went out into the city for a stroll, they were at once surrounded by a crowd: People admired our pilots' courage, wanted to be photographed with them, and treated them to ice cream and fruit.

Gerasimov Interview on 'European Home'

AU2811141488 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, press spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Zbigniew Ramotowski: "The Ideal and the Goal"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Ramotowski] I would like to begin our talk with something of a provocative question: To what extent do you, as a Soviet citizen, feel yourself to be a European, and to what extent, let us put it this way, do you feel yourself to be a Eurasian?

[Gerasimov] We are Europeans! Although I spent my childhood near Vladivostock, that is, in Asia, and later lived in Japan, Korea, and China, I have always felt myself to be a European. It is a question of cultural traditions and history. Although attempts were made to conquer us from two sides, from the East and the West—there were the Mongols, then Napoleon, and later Hitler—we retained our identity and remained part of mainstream Europe. Perhaps you could find people among that haughty "Polish gentleman farmer" class who saw us as Asiatics, but nevertheless we considered and consider ourselves to be Europeans. This is dictated by both history and geography, and a particular geographical location brings with it a specific fate, destiny. This is also true of Poland.

[Ramotowski] Today, what does Europe mean as a concept?

[Gerasimov] As you know, this issue is the subject of a great deal of philosophical discussion. After World War I, which could be called the first great European civil war, a pan-European movement came into existence. I am thinking of Count Countenhove - Kalergi and Paul Valery and others. Besides, they did have forbears. Irrespective of the differences that existed with respect to historical factors and concrete political goals, they all advanced similar arguments and drew attention to the geographical location of Europe, the common ancient Greek and Roman heritage, and the influence of the Christian religion. We are aware of this today. There is no need to rediscover the fact that there is a European civilization. However, new arguments are being put forward. What I am thinking of are, for example, the economic interdependencies that are reflected in integration processes. I am also thinking of the fact that it is widely accepted that Europe must live in peace, because if it does not, then nothing will remain of it. Another war, a nuclear war, would mean that we would all share the same end. Other threats, environmental threats, for example—they do not, of course, acknowledge borders—have also helped to foster this feeling of European unity.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that we are a small, a very small, continent. I realize this every time I find myself travelling in the United States. Going from New York to Alaska is quite a journey—you spend the whole day flying. In Europe, however, you can just jump from one country to another. The flight is over before you really have enough time to settle down in your seat.

[Ramotowski] It seems to me that the Soviet Union has been taking a new view of Europe for some time now, of both Western Europe and of Europe as a whole. Some people think that they can detect a newfound Soviet "love" of Europe. However, love is something that we can let the poets take care of. What factors have inclined the Soviet Union to view our continent in a new way?

[Gerasimov] We have always been sensitive to and supportive of general European interests, and we have always been advocates of a form of collective security for the entire continent. Our different view of things is connected with something else. We think that today Europe can develop as one single community. In the past, we had a different approach to certain phenomena and processes. We thought, for example, that Western European integration was directed against us. Of course, there were some grounds for this. After all, Europe is divided: There are two military blocks. However, we now see economic integration in different terms. First, we acknowledge it as a fact. We see it as being something that can neither be denied or ignored. Second, this fact has led us to draw certain practical conclusions. We are in favor of economic cooperation in Europe and, at the same time, we are opposed to military confrontation. It would be best if these blocks simply ceased to exist at some point.

[Ramotowski] And we were to have one common market instead...

[Gerasimov] It is difficult to talk about some kind of European common market, as this kind of market does not exist within the framework of our own socialist community. I do not want to go into causes, but we in CEMA have fallen behind.

[Ramotowski] Anybody who is in the least bit interested in politics and not just the people who attend your press conferences and watch your television appearances, has heard about Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of a "common European home"—an idea that is certainly not alien to Polish political thought. What, in your opinion, does this idea mean in practical terms? Can you predict what changes would occur in Europe if this concept were put into practice?

[Gerasimov] I cannot provide a detailed description, but I can talk about an ideal solution, about the things that would be the most desirable.

[Ramotowski] So, what is your ideal picture of tomorrow's Europe?

[Gerasimov] Both blocks are disbanded, the size of armies is scaled down to a minimum, people can travel without having to think about borders, comprehensive cooperation covers the entire continent, and every people preserves its cultural identity and its independence and sovereignty, but we all live together as good neighbors.

[Ramotowski] That is quite a dream!

[Gerasimov] It is the goal of this idea of ours. We want to a see a peaceful Europe of equal states that cooperate with one another.

[Ramotowski] When do you think the foundations of this kind of Europe will be laid? Do you think it might happen before the end of this century?

[Gerasimov] No one can give a precise date. We have put forward a proposal, and it is being discussed. Discussions are being held about how we can build a common home. Of course, it really would be a good thing if we could settle the question of foundations before the end of this century.

[Ramotowski] Are you an optimist or a pessimist?

[Gerasimov] An optimist.

[Ramotowski] Thank you.

New Journal To Document Party Work

PM0512101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with A.A. Solovyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department, by V.S. Kozhemyako, PRAVDA editor for the party life section: "Journal's Address is CPSU Central Committee"; date, place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Subscription was recently announced to the new monthly journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS. This announcement has aroused great public interest. In letters and over the telephone readers ask about the nature of the new party publication, the content of the first issues, and the journal's long-term plans. V.S. Kozhemyako, PRAVDA editor for the party life section, turned to the party Central Committee General Department and asked A.A. Solovyev, the department's deputy chief, to answer readers' questions.

[Kozhemyako] Aleksandr Arsenyevich, let's begin with the question of why the new journal has received this title?

[Solovyev] The title expresses the publication's function. The journal will provide extensive information or, to use the old-style term, will "notify" Communists and the country's entire population of the activity of the party

Central Committee and its leading organs—the Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Committee commissions. Preference will be given here to genuine documentary materials. The journal's title and its history go back into our revolutionary past. IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B) ["News of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee"] began to be published in May 1919 by a decision of the eighth party congress. It was published through October 1929.

The first issues of IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B) have already become bibliographical rarities. But many traditions of this publication, at whose sources V.I. Lenin stood, can and must be resurrected in the new journal. Now, in the atmosphere of glasnost, the CPSU Central Committee leadership, as was the case 70 years ago in V.I. Lenin's time, feels a keen need to keep Communists and working people regularly informed of the most important events in the country and the world, of the Central Committee's policy, and of the activity of its leading organs and apparatus, and to report on the work of other party echelons.

Of course, it would be absurd today to copy the old publication, but one should not forget historical experience and good traditions. Yet much has been consigned to oblivion. By the late twenties the central party organs had switched increasingly to restrictions in the use of information and had started to classify a substantial proportion of documents. This was the time when IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B) ceased publication. Of course, the main role here was played by the Stalinist system of administration through command, which had gathered strength by that time and which left its bureaucratic imprint on mutual relations between the party's leading organs and the broad party masses. Secrecy in taking decisions and the creation of an atmosphere of secrecy in the Central Committee's activity eventually led to the point where it was as though there was nothing about which to "notify" the party organizations and rank and file party members and no reason to do so.

Today's time of restructuring and the tasks of the democratization of society have demanded the resolute intensification of openness and glasnost in the activity of the party and its leading organs. This was stated with heat and commitment by the delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. That is why the creation or exact resurrection of IZVESTIYA TSK is viewed as yet another means of activating dialogue between the party leadership and society as a direct form of the top party organs' reporting on their work. In that sense it may be said that IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS is the offspring of restructuring, a specific, businesslike response to the party conference's decisions.

It is planned that the documents of restructuring will be widely represented in the document. And there are many of these documents. Thus even in the first issue it is planned to provide a collection of documents devoted to very important events in the party's life such as the restructuring of the work of the party organizations, the report and election campaign, and the reorganization of the party apparatus. In addition to the relevant Politburo resolutions it is planned to include in the collection the notes of the Central Committee party building and cadres work department on the report and election campaign in the party.

Or take, for instance, reports on the work of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials connected with the repressions which took place in the thirties and forties and early fifties. The press has provided brief information on the results of its examination of a number of cases. But I think it will be interesting and important for the reader to learn not only of the commission's final conclusions but also of the large amount of painstaking preliminary work which members of the commission have done in conjunction with workers of the Prosecutor's Office, the USSR Supreme Court, and the KGB to study the materials of the unjustified repressions. In the very first issue of IZVESTIYA TSK readers will have this opportunity.

[Kozhemyako] The party conference and the press mentioned the fact that people are poorly informed on the career of party leaders, and that applies to leaders of all levels. Does IZVESTIYA TSK intend somehow to rectify the existing situation?

[Solovyev] As a first step the journal intends to regularly report on elections and appointments to top party organs and on changes in the posts of first secretaries of republican, kray, and oblast party organizations.

The first issue will publish the biographies of the members and candidate members of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries. In later issues the reader will be acquainted with the active composition of the party Central Committee, the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the biographies of the first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committee, kraykoms, and obkoms, the leaders of the party's central institutions, and the chief editors of central party newspapers and journals. And later, as the party's top cadres corps is renewed, IZVESTIYA TSK will inform its readers of all changes in the party leadership.

[Kozhemyako] What is the difference between IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS and other party publications? What materials will comprise the journal's main contents?

[Solovyev] IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS is the official information publication of the Central Committee publishing party documents. That means that all information on the activity of the top party organs will reach the reader first-hand, so to speak, because the Central Committee is not only the publisher but also the collective author of the journal. In particular the reader will find in the journal resolutions of the Politburo, Secretariat, and Party Control Committee, materials of the Central Committee Politburo commissions, and other party documents (unless, of course, they contain state or military secrets).

The journal will cover the activity of the CPSU Central Committee commissions, whose composition and working procedure were approved by the 28 November party Central Committee plenum. There is no doubt that members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU will not remain uninvolved in the journal's publication.

In connection with such important and responsible tasks for the journal's leadership, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has formed an editorial council. It will include seven people. They are Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries V.A. Medvedev and A.N. Yakovlev; Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary G.D. Razumovskiy; CPSU Central Committee members B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, V.I. Boldin, chief of the Central Committee General Department, and N.Ye. Kruchina, Central Committee administrator of affairs; and CPSU Central Committee candidate member G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

All departments of the party Central Committee will take part in the publication of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS. Information on many of the top party organs' decisions will be accompanied by the publication of their preparatory materials—analytic notes of the Central Committee departments, the results of studies and checks and specialists conclusions, and so forth. The party's central institutions like the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its Central Party Archives, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, and others will also render assistance in the journal's publication. Readers will also find here reports on the life of republican, kray, oblast, city, and rural party organizations.

The journal will be published in the CPSU Central Committee PRAVDA publishing house. Steps are being taken to improve the printing base of the publishing house, for after all the circulation of the majority of newspapers and journals has increased considerably and the publishing house is overloaded. In particular the announced publication of the journal's issues in hard cover will for the time being be restricted. But these are growing pains, as they say.

[Kozhemyako] It is well known that those taking part in Central Committee plenums have recently been receiving collections and surveys of working people's letters sent to the CPSU Central Committee. The delegates to the 19th all-union party conference also received such a selection—I believe a very interesting one. Will the journal reflect the mail of the party Central Committee?

[Solovyev] Since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the number of letters and verbal statements from working people to the Central Committee has increased considerably and now amounts to nearly 1 million a year. The Central Committee's annual foreign mail has increased by hundreds of thousands of letters, which reflects the CPSU's high international prestige and the growing trust which the foreign policy course of our party and state enjoys in the eyes of the world public.

IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS will familiarize readers regularly, in every issue, with this enormous and impressive correspondence. In particular it is planned regularly to publish surveys and selections of letters devoted to the most urgent priority issues of the country's life. For instance, letters expressing people's opinions on the forthcoming reform of price formation, on ways of resolving the food and housing problems, on interethnic relations, and so forth.

These selections of letters have recently been handed out constantly to participants in Central Committee plenums and members of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU are regularly acquainted with them. With regard to a number of letters special instructions are given to Central Committee departments, ministries and departments, and local party organs. All this will be described in IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS.

As for the survey of letters presented to the delegates to the 19th party conference—and it was indeed a very acute and interesting survey—it is planned to print it in the journal's first issue. In a subsequent issue the reader will read of the work of the CPSU Central Committee information and reception office and will learn about the procedure for the passage of written and verbal appeals to the Central Committee.

[Kozhemyako] To judge by the announcement which has appeared in the press on subscription to the new journal, the section of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS which will publish materials from the party archives promises to be very interesting.

[Solovyev] Yes, the party archives store a considerable quantity of documentary materials of great interest. There is no doubt that many stocks which have accumulated over the decades are in need of objective, thorough study. That applies particularly to the shorthand records, protocols, and other official materials and also to the personal archives of party leaders.

It is a case of seeking the most varied documents. They include speeches and letters, memoirs and resolutions, and photographs of political leaders. The search for these documents is continuing and IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS will familiarize its readers with the results of this search, beginning with the very first issue. It has been decided to enlist the country's leading scholars to analyze the published documents.

Also of great interest are the letters which many eminent people whose names are now widely known throughout the world sent to the Central Committee and to party leaders. The CPSU Central Committee archives have stored many very interesting letters from writers, scientists, and figures of Soviet and world culture. In addition to those already mentioned in the announcement on subscription, I can name writers V.M. Kirshon, A.Ye. Korneychuk, and M.S. Shaginyan, composer D.D. Shostakovich, historians V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich and Ye.V. Yarle, diplomat G.V. Chicherin, and others. These letters will also be published in the journal.

In brief, we see our task in ensuring that IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS becomes a reliable documentary basis for the party's scientific, ideological, and mass political work. The publications will become an important documentary aid for "Outlines of the History of the CPSU," work on which is now being performed under the leadership of the Politburo commission. I think the archive documents published in the journal will not only be a source for chapters and sections of the "Outlines" but also a basis for further scientific research.

[Kozhemyako] Thank you for the interview. Readers await the first issues of the new journal.

[Solovyev] I take this opportunity to remind you that IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS will be published every month as of January 1989. You can subscribe to the new publication until 15 December. The journal's address is Moscow, CPSU Central Committee.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Oblast Session

PM0512132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Following Course of Restructuring"]

[Text] Leningrad, 3 Dec—The volume of capital investments earmarked for constructing social sphere projects will increase nearly 40 percent and the production of consumer goods will increase by R119 million. This decision was made by today's session of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, which approved the oblast's plan and budget for 1989.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom, took part in the work of the session.

Agricultural

Gosagroprom Chairman Murakhovskiy Interviewed

WA1801027288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
19 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Vsevolod S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by Colonel R. Makushin, on 19 November: "To Be An Owner on the Land"; place not given]

[Text] **November 20 marks the day of workers in agriculture and the mining industry of the agro-industrial complex. On the eve of this date, our correspondent met with Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.**

[Makushin] First of all, accept my congratulations on behalf of the readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to the toilers in the agro-industrial complex, whose deeds and concerns interest all the Soviet people. What did they achieve this year, and what are the results of Harvest-88?

[Murakhovskiy] Thank you for the congratulations. In answering your question, I wish first to note that this year the majority of enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the agro-industrial complex are working under new management conditions—on principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. This is having a favorable effect on increasing production, improving labor productivity, and raising profits.

According to preliminary data, gross output of the APK [agro-industrial complex] will be greater than in 1987. State purchases of oil-producing crop seeds, vegetables, fruits, and berries, and cotton fiber increased. The sale of animal husbandry products to the state will increase: meat by approximately 700,000 tons (dressed weight); milk by 2.5 million tons; eggs by almost 1.5 billion. Somewhat less grain has been produced than last year.

Grain growers in Odessa, Poltava, Nikolayevsk, Voronezh, and Rostov Oblasts, and Stavropol Kray made a significant contribution to augmenting state grain reserves.

Despite definite positive advances, the workers in the agro-industrial complex understand well that they have not yet succeeded in substantially improving the supply of food to the population. In many cities and entire regions, interruptions continue in trade in meat, milk, and other products. The growth of incomes of workers now exceeds the ability to satisfy demand.

[Makushin] This year—and this has already become a good tradition—soldiers assisted the agricultural workers in transporting harvested agricultural products. How do you assess this assistance?

[Murakhovskiy] I would assess it very highly. Military transport troops transported more than 22 million tons of agricultural goods, including approximately 8 million tons of grain. But, in assessing the work of the soldiers, one should speak not only of figures. Very important, in my view, is the training of the military drivers, their readiness to work under any weather conditions, day and night, and their self-discipline and discipline. Also important is the fact that many soldiers and officers are former rural residents, who understood peasant labor from their early years.

The soldiers conducted themselves selflessly during the harvest. Moreover, despite being busy, they found time to help village residents solve some of their everyday problems: some repaired a house, somewhere a road was fixed up, a club was renovated, and so forth. All this gave high prestige to the military drivers among the rural population, and contributed to strengthening the unity between the Army and the people.

[Makushin] This year KRASNAYA ZVEZDA discussed rather extensively the work of military transport troops in the country's fields. A number of publications posed a very important question, which was reflected, in particular, in the title of one of the articles: "We Ask—Give Us Work!" This concerned forced stoppages of people and motor vehicles. How can this be explained?

[Murakhovskiy] I would answer your question in this way. Military transport troops are sent to harvest crops based on orders from the oblasts and republics. These orders are formulated from requests by kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

During the harvest period, motor transport is usually not sufficient, and, as a rule, the vehicles are used very productively. However, there are still individual instances when vehicles stand idle. USSR Gosagroprom also knows this. There are various reasons: delays in the repair and sealing of cabs due to a lack of necessary materials at the farms, miscalculations of the harvest starting times by specialists, and in connection with this the untimely summoning of motor transport subunits.

Each such instance does not pass unnoticed, and the agro-industrial organs, and leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, are drawing the necessary conclusions. This is all the more so in that, with the introduction of economic accountability relationships, contracting, and leasing, work to expend funds economically is being intensified. Economic accountability makes it necessary to count every kopek.

[Makushin] Vsevolod Serafimovich! At this time soldiers who have served their time in the Armed Forces are being discharged into the reserves. Many of them will return to the villages and pour into the ranks of agricultural workers. Could you orient them, and advise them how better to use the knowledge and skills and the tempering that they obtained during their service?

[Murakhovskiy] Young forces are always needed in agriculture, and people who have construction and other specialties are especially needed. Also, work in the village has become interesting; there is someplace to show one's abilities, to display independence, keen wittedness, and initiative. Take, for example, the nonblack earth region. It is a beautiful area! Its forests, rivers, and meadows inspired many poets. Now it is being revitalized. Construction of housing, roads, health facilities, utilities, and cultural and commercial services has developed. Come, dear soldiers, in entire collectives. Create cooperatives and lease fields and farms. You will always find a place to apply your young energies in the village. Here good pay is provided, and you will receive assistance in building a house, settling down, and establishing a good life.

[Makushin] A great deal has been said recently about lease contracting. In particular, a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with the leaders of lease collectives, scientists, and specialists convened in Orel was devoted to this. There it was emphasized that human potential can be unleashed and successfully realized based on the new relations in the village, and the return of the peasant as owner of the land. Please, Vsevolod Serafimovich, explain to our readers in a condensed form the concept of lease contracting.

[Murakhovskiy] This is a form of management, under which a brigade, link, cooperative, individual family, or one individual acts as the completely autonomous owner of the land, cattle, and equipment. What does this mean? It means that all these and other means of production, by agreement, are hired for a certain payment for independent, long-term use. For their part, the lessee pledges to sell to the lessor or the state a set amount of products. Everything produced above this amount is sold by the lessee, on his volition, based on negotiated prices. He makes his lease payment and other payments provided for by the agreement, pays back loans, and pays for all material resources and services granted, from the funds gained from sale of the product. The remainder is economic accountability income and is the full property of the lessee.

[Makushin] Apparently, it can be said that this system makes it possible for a leasing collective, and each of its members, to obtain an income proportionate to their efforts; that is, everything here depends on the people themselves.

[Murakhovskiy] Absolutely right. And here is something else I would like to add. The interest that rural workers are today showing toward leasing, economic accountability, and other economic methods of management is not new. There were attempts before by individual rural residents, families, and collectives to manage the land independently. Now this feeling of owner and worker is being realized not only in private subsidiary farming, but also in the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system. People were attracted to the land, and to vital farming work, also because the style of management is changing. Methods of force and command are being replaced by economic methods, which do not infringe upon, but to the contrary facilitate the display of initiative and independence. Through lease contracting, through lease relations, these things are bringing about the colossal democratization, not only of the economy, but also of our society as a whole.

Today the law on leasing is being prepared. It is deciding many legal questions, which will enable soviet and economic organs in Moscow and locally to influence more actively the development of lease arrangements and to strengthen the new form of management materially and technically. And all these things are paths to solving the food problem.

[Makushin] At the meeting in Orel, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized: "The country needs a decisive improvement in the food supply." Can you today tell the readers of our newspaper when we will have, well, not an abundance of products, but at least a sufficient amount of them?

[Murakhovskiy] Yes, the food problem truly is the most urgent problem of restructuring. A great deal is being done today to solve it, not only in the agro-industrial complex, but in almost all branches of the economy. The food problem is the concern and pain of all the people. Its solution is concentrated primarily in the local areas. It has been prescribed that meat, milk, and other products, after the plans for delivery to the all-union and republic funds are fulfilled, remain at the disposal of local organs, for improving supplies to the population. The products of private subsidiary farms purchased by consumer cooperative organizations are also used for these purposes. Other measures have also been taken to stimulate the production of agricultural products for local consumption.

Under these conditions, the food problem is being solved more quickly where the new economic mechanism operated well, the achievements of science and technology are being introduced, and accumulated production potential is being effectively used.

The decisions of the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of agrarian policy will open up new opportunities for accelerating the buildup of food resources.

As you see, everyone is anxious. And advances already exist. I can say that the food supply of the population will improve every year. Some regions of the country are already experiencing no difficulties, others will solve this problem next year, and some will require longer. The workers of the agro-industrial complex will fulfill the targets established by the Food Program for the end of the 5-year plan.

Scientific

Joint French Space Flight Proceeding as Planned

LD0512132288 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—The international Soviet-French crew continues fulfilling the programme of the joint flight. The cosmonauts are busy preparing Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien for a space walk to test the large-size framework structure in the conditions of open space.

The crew has reactivated the spacesuits, checked the condition of life-supporting and thermal regulation systems. Equipment of the transfer section of the station was rigged up, which is used as an air lock during space-walks.

Today the cosmonauts will check the scientific equipment required for the experiments.

On December 4 the international crew held an on-board conference for Soviet and foreign journalists covering the mission.

According to the cosmonauts and telemetric information, the mission is proceeding according to schedule.

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien feel well.

Crew Prepares for Space Walk

LD0512143588 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—The main task for the Soviet-French crew on board the orbiting platform Mir on Monday is preparing for an important extravehicular experiment codenamed Era, a TASS correspondent was told at the ground control centre.

The space walk, scheduled for December 9, will be undertaken by the international crew's commander Aleksandr Volkov of the Soviet Union and researcher cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien of France.

They are being aided in their preparations by flight engineer Sergey Krikalev and Mir's resident crew of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov.

The experiment will involve unfolding a complex structure consisting of carbon plastic tubes with light metal alloy joints, which looks like a pile of brushwood in its collapsed state.

After being deployed, it will resemble a one-metre-high hexahedron prism, specialists say.

Such girders can in future serve as platforms for aerials, large-size constructions and telescope mirrors.

The structure will be attached to a special elevation on the Mir outer wall. This will require a series of simple operations which can be done by cosmonauts wearing EVA (extra-vehicular activity) suits.

After the experiment, an automatic system activated from a control panel inside Mir will jettison the structure. It can also be removed manually.

A TV camera mount will make it possible to monitor the structure's assembly and installment as well as its unfolding and ejection from the orbiting platform.

All the phases of the Era experiment will be recorded on video tape.

'Buran' Offered for International Projects

LD0512152388 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—"We are for outer space to become an arena for peaceful international cooperation and are prepared to make the Energiya-Buran tandem available for use by the whole planet," the chief designer of Soviet reusable spaceships, Yuriy Semenov, has told the national daily IZVESTIYA.

He said in an interview, which was published today, that the space shuttle Buran's principal mission is to "launch costly facilities fitted out with unique scientific instruments, for example large optical telescopes with sophisticated electronic equipment".

Other uses could include, in his words, "projects requiring the creation in orbit of big radio telescopes, aerial systems, solar power stations and interplanetary complexes, that is extremely expensive constructions, each of which is the only one of its kind and needs to be serviced by manipulators, robots and qualified personnel".

The designer said that Buran "can also be used in individual cases as a space research laboratory to test some very important equipment" and then continue developing it on earth.

Military

Marshal Akhromeyev Views General Staff's Tasks

PM0212160488 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 30 Nov 88 p 3

["Focus" article by Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet General Staff: "The Soviet Union Is Not Lowering Its Guard"]

[Text] The transition from confrontation to understanding in relations between countries with different social systems and to negotiations for reductions in mass destruction weapons is a concrete result of a series of Soviet peace initiatives. It has been possible to push the threat of war to one side, but the international situation is still complicated and full of contradictions. There are still no guarantees that these positive processes will be lasting. Therefore, we must not renounce the care we take to strengthen the Soviet state's defensive capacity.

It is particularly important today that the thrust of defense building should be toward qualitative criteria when it comes to materiel, military research, and the composition of the Armed Forces.

New thinking does not penetrate the Army and Navy so easily; old stereotyped notions persist. The concepts that formerly guided us in defense building were, when all is said and done, far from the best and sometimes led us into an arms race.

The General Staff now proceeds from the fact that new approaches are needed in assessing probable adversaries and what form possible aggression will take in light of the way in which relative strengths have developed. Mistakes in assessing the nature of probable aggression and its possible consequences are always dangerous, and when strategy is of a defensive nature these mistakes bring with them the threat of serious repercussions. The General Staff will guarantee that this work will be of the required quality so that firm strategic prognoses can be made.

When military doctrine is put into in practice it is important to continue to improve the military structure in accordance with the principles of balance and the so-called defensive sufficiency, and while taking into consideration the actual activity of the United States and NATO. This is a most important and most complicated question. In resolving it we are taking account of the proposals that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact are putting forward in the fields of disarmament and security.

At the same time, as the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces is now being given a defensive thrust, new methods are being introduced to maintain military capacity at a level which guarantees the country's security in the event of possible reductions in both nuclear and conventional arms. Under such circumstances it is of crucial importance that the arms and the equipment supplied to the Army and the Navy be effective and of high quality, so that the defense objectives can be met with a smaller number of weapons.

An important concern in increasing combat readiness is the development and improvement of the command system by increasing its survival capacity, automating telecommunications, and adapting the command structure to the changed objectives.

In light of the demands of the new military doctrine and the defense strategy and operational capability that it requires, the General Staff is directing its efforts toward a significant restructuring of troops' and naval forces' operational and combat training and is applying the new methods in a creative way during exercises. The start made in this field must be followed up energetically.

When it comes to achieving an effective defense structure especially through qualitative criteria, the General Staff has an important role in producing creative solutions. Here we see free and constructive discussions, disputes, and conflicts of views as a guarantee against mistakes. Only thus can we make full use of the creative capacity possessed by the General Staff's personnel. The major questions of principle that are of long-term importance must be discussed democratically at the preparatory stage with the involvement of all the generals, admirals, and officers concerned. Practice demonstrates that a respectful attitude toward divergent views and unconventional proposals most often leads to the effective solution of problems which arise when attempting to meet defense objectives.

Certain influential circles in the West are now making a more realistic assessment of the situation in the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces, and of the possible catastrophic consequences of the arms race for peace on earth. Other no less influential circles, however, are continuing to invest in a "policy of strength" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, trying to frighten it and force it to make one-sided concessions. This could be noted yet again when a Soviet military delegation recently visited the United States. This is also confirmed by the talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci in October.

That is why it is still necessary to adopt measures to prevent actions which would be dangerous for the Soviet Union and its allies.